A Sketch Map
of the Principal
CHURCHES and FAITHS
OF
EUROPE
FREE CHURCHES AND CHURCH OF ENGLAND
LUTHERAN
REFORMED
ROMAN CATHOLIC
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UNIAT
BY
GEORGE STEWART PH.D. F.R.G.S.
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PROTESTANT EUROPE: ITS CRISIS AND OUTLOOK

ADOLF KELLER, D.D., LL.D.
And
GEORGE STEWART, PH.D., F.R.G.S.

Frontispiece

PROTESTANT EUROPE:
ITS CRISIS AND OUTLOOK

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The two authors of the present volume are eminently prepared to interpret the nature and problems of Continental Protestantism to the English-speaking world.

Doctor Adolf Keller, a native of Switzerland, studied in the Universities of Basel, Geneva and Berlin, taught for three years in the International School in Cairo and acted as associate pastor of the international parish in that city. In 1898 he was attached to a scientific expedition for study of Greek manuscripts at the famous library of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, the scene of Lobegott Friedrich Konstantin von Tischendorf's momentous discoveries of portions of the *Codex Sinaiticus* in 1844 and 1859. The object of the expedition of 1898 was to collate the New Testament Greek text, later published by Professor von Soden, from which Professor James Moffatt later made his translation into English. Doctor Keller made two expeditions to Palestine and studied archeological remains in Upper Egypt and at the Coptic Monasteries of the Western Desert.

Upon his return to Switzerland in 1899 he was located at Stein am Rhein and was elected Professor of Religious Education at the State College at Schaffhausen. In 1904 he was called to a parish in Geneva, and in 1909 accepted the pastorate of the historic St. Peter's Church in Zurich.

Following the War in 1919 he represented the Swiss churches at the Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. When the Swiss Church Federation was founded in 1920 Doctor Keller was elected its secretary. In 1922 he accepted the secretaryship of the *European Central Bureau for the Relief of Evangelical Churches* and was one of the four international secretaries of the Universal Conference on Life and Work held at Stockholm in 1925, and Associate General Secretary of its Executive Committee.

Doctor Keller is regarded throughout Europe and the Near East as one of the most effective workers in the coöperative and federated movement among the churches. He is the author of *Eine Sinaifahrt, Eine Philosophie des Lebens,* a study in the philosophy of Bergson, *Dynamis,* a study on forms and forces in the religious life of America, *Zur Lage des europäischen Protestantismus,* and numerous articles and pamphlets.

Doctor George Stewart is a graduate of Yale liberal arts course, took his law degree in the same institution, and after a period in the American Army during the Great War received his doctorate in 1921, afterward entering the collegiate pastorate of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York City.

He is the author of numerous books and magazine articles, including *A History of Religious Education in Connecticut,* which won the John Addison Porter prize at Yale in 1921, *The Life of Henry B. Wright, The Crucifixion in Our Street, The Soldiers' Spirit,* and is the collector and editor of *Redemption: An Anthology of the Cross.*

Doctor Stewart has many times traveled extensively throughout Europe, and in 1922 was made a Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society of Great Britain. He is a member of the Near East Survey Committee, and is a well-known authority on European church life.

PREFACE

The present volume is the first of what may prove to be an ecumenical literature, giving a vision of the whole European Protestant Christianity to the Christian population of the West. Too long have we had fragmentary and fugitive information regarding the life and work of the Protestant churches in the various countries of the Old World. The present vivid and accurate picture of the organization, ideals and contribution of Continental Churches should find its way into the hands of every traveler, student, minister and layman who is interested in the culture and spiritual life of modern Europe.

We have had discussions of the Peace Treaty, of the economic and political aspects, of the drama and education of the nations from which we came, but here is a book which leads us to an understanding of the mind and heart of those lands wherein the Reformation was born and in which it has received its greatest development and now faces the severest hardships.

The spirit of understanding and appreciation which pervades these pages commends this account to all who are internationally minded and who long for a day of greater accord and unity among the forces of Christianity throughout the earth.

From these historic Churches came not only our own early religious life, but also our educational and civic institutions.

In this volume we have both the viewpoint of a European and of an American, both of whom have sympathetic and accurate knowledge of their theme.

Ever since my first friendly visitation to these churches in 1915 as a commissioner of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, I have desired to have made known to the Christian people of America, the genius, service and needs

of these churches, and I welcome this volume as a most important production in these days of growing international understanding.

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND.

Office of The General Secretary
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In giving a total picture of European Protestantism many lights and shadows escape the observer. If valuable works which have been watered by the blood and tears of faithful men and women be overlooked it is by no willful purpose. If there be mistakes we beg to be judged not by the interpretation of our minds but by the thought and intent of our hearts.

This work would have been impossible without the generous coöperation of many men and women throughout the Continent. We are indebted to Professor Heinrich Frick, of the Theological Faculty of Geissen, to Doctor Schneider, whose year books we have employed, to Doctor Siegmund-Schultze of Berlin, whose publications on various churches have been consulted, to Reverend J. R. Fleming of Edinburgh, to Reverend Thomas Nightingale, Secretary of the English National Free Church Council, to the Right Reverend E. A. Burroughs, D.D., Reverend Professor Archibald Main, D.D., D. Litt. of Glasgow University, Reverend A. N. Bogle, D.D., of Edinburgh, Reverend J. H. Rushbrooke, European Baptist Commissioner, Bishop Irbe of Latvia, Superintendent Jakubénas of Lithuania, André Monod, Wilfred Monod, and Jean Viénot of Paris, Professor Deissmann of Berlin, Bishop Amundsen of Denmark, Archbishop Soederblom of Upsala, President Glass of Warsaw, President Capesius of Vienna, Professor Zilka of Prague, Pastor Fliedner of Madrid, Minister Slotemaker de Bruine and Professor Cramer of Holland, M. Gautier of Brussels, Professor Comba of Rome, Bishop Nagy of Transylvania, Bishop Ravasz of Budapest, Dean Loimaranta of Finland, Pastor Rihner of Jugoslavia, Doctor Joergensen of Copenhagen, Bishop Nuelson of Zurich, Bishop Jakob Kukk of Esthonia, Reverend Erdos of Debreczin, and to Reverend Bauhofer, Assistant Secretary of the European Central Bureau, who has rendered invaluable help, and to many others whose cordial coöperation have made this work possible.

We are also grateful to nearly all Boards of European Churches for having furthered this work by their information, and to the information service of the *World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches* and to the *Central Bureau for the Relief of Evangelical Churches in Europe.*

As Great Britain is much better known in English-speaking countries than the Continent, more stress has been placed upon Continental Churches.

In publishing this volume our aim is not only to give information about the Protestant Church in Europe, and its problems, but also to further coöperation and spiritual exchange between the motherland of the Reformation and the Churches of the Western World.

We trust this record will be the pioneer of a literature which will bring an ampler conception of the mind and heart of European Protestantism.

ADOLF KELLER.
GEORGE STEWART.

New York City,
January 31, 1927.

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Part I: Europe's Cultural Maelstrom

Chapter I

THE PATH OF THE FOUR HORSEMEN

Europe has become impoverished with many losses consequent upon the World War. Politically, she has lost kings and emperors, and land groupings which they represented; economically, war expenses and waste have destroyed much treasure, and inflation wiped out endowments and savings which required two hundred years of restraint to accumulate; socially, she lost pre-war solidarity and class regimentation; esthetically, the Old World's illness was evidenced by post-war drama, novels, and painting. In all these fields, resident recuperative forces within Europe are bringing about convalescence and are causing the international blood-stream once more to circulate. But political, economic, social, and esthetic maladies do not complete the diagnosis of Europe's sickness. In fourteen countries, due to an accumulation of calamities, the Protestant Church is fighting for its life. In a day desperately in need of spiritual leadership and moral power, the serious impairment of the spiritual side of either Protestantism or Catholicism must be recognized as a major disaster by all who love European culture.

The church suffers acutely in the general malaise which rests upon Europe. It cannot be separated from the life of states in which it finds itself; it is woven into the warp and woof of the common life of each country. In large and fair sections of Europe it lives in an atmosphere of defeat, of hatred, of greed, and of fear—the four outstanding characteristics of the post-war turmoil in every belligerent country. In most of the countries of Europe the class struggle has been intensified since the peace and constitutes an effective barrier to healthy church life. After every great conflict the competition of classes for power has been severe. There is no class in any

country willing to assume responsibility for the war. Grave charges of war guilt are saddled by one group upon another, provoking bitter recrimination. Each class believes it has suffered a disproportionate amount, and the situation is further aggravated by the fact that successive governments have been unable to restore health and vigor to social and economic life, and the parties they represent have become targets for popular complaint. National pride is still at high pitch, and for understandable reasons. Each nation, from its own viewpoint, looking back over the last decade, has adequate grounds for alarm. In the midst of a turbulent and neurotic world, the churches of all faiths pursue their way *dans la mêlée.*

War, revolution, famine, and disease have always had a depraving influence upon public morality. When the noble impulses of sacrifice were consumed in the fires of hatred, dark and demoniac instincts crept to the surface, like fiends from the pit. The revolutionary spirit blazed irresistibly over the Old World and shook the pillars of society. Men were suffering from unallocated causes and they struck out in any direction to relieve themselves of the horrors which the war left upon the world. The sense of civic responsibility was destroyed by class hatred and despair. A wave of criminality swept over countries hitherto known for their high moral standards. Drunken men and prostitutes reeled down the avenues in the night life of capitals which have been the watchwords of culture and beauty in the human spirit. It was a mad, dancing, drunken world, lusting and longing for life in the new freedom, after the years of iron discipline and restraint. Special clinics were instituted in one capital for children with venereal disease. As one looked out upon a world of defeated victors and despairing victims and saw the war wounded—the yellow, emaciated widows, the rickety children, and the mad Saturnalia of the dance halls and cafés—he could not wonder that one of the most widely read books in Central Europe was Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes,* "The Downfall of the Western World." Yet it was in this world that the church had to bear its witness.

A series of unprecedented calamities directly impinge upon

the church in Europe. Not all of these burdens are peculiar to Protestantism, although its position differs radically from Catholicism in certain important matters.

Disestablishment struck a serious blow at three of the strongest churches in Europe at the close of hostilities. "Throne and altar" was a slogan often heard in the nineteenth century, and when the throne fell the altar trembled. Monarchies had been loyally supported by the church, and many new Socialist governments, reared in the schools of Bakunin and Karl Marx, wished to avenge themselves on the church as a supporter of the old régime. The Lutherans in Germany and the Greek Orthodox Church in Russia were cut off from substantial state support in a day when they were in greater need of such subsidies than ever before in their history. The German Protestant Churches would have been in an even more desperate plight than that in which they found themselves, had not the Catholic Church thrown the weight of her influence in favor of state taxes for church purposes.

In addition to large churches which were disestablished and left without their accustomed resources, four churches in Transylvania, including the Lutheran Church, both Saxon and Magyar, the Reformed or Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic, and the Unitarian, were partially deprived of revenues by the Rumanian government which formerly were officially levied by the Hungarian State. Also, there are some scores of United Evangelical parishes in old German Poland which are wholly adrift and penniless, save for the meager contributions which it is possible for a people to make in an overtaxed and impoverished country. Their tax-raised revenues having ceased, these bodies must train their people to make voluntary contributions in a period of depreciated currency and unemployment. When this situation is made concrete in a parish in Saxony or Moravia, one sees in the local pastor and his poverty-stricken flock the drama of faith and tragedy. In years to come it may be better for the church to be wholly emancipated from state support, but the sudden necessity of changing its method of finance is at present a grievous burden. In addition to the financial shock, a serious loss has resulted

in the prestige of the church in the wholesale disestablishment following the war.

Actual demolition of church buildings has been a grave loss in many regions. French churches were not the only ones to suffer from shell fire. In East Prussia the Russian and German troops together destroyed one hundred and seventeen churches, most of which are not yet rebuilt. In Latvia one-fourth of the church buildings were ruined. One sees broken altars and ruined churches across the entire eastern front. One hundred and five Evangelical churches and twenty-three schools were destroyed in Poland. Nearly all the schools and churches in Eastern and Middle Galicia were wholly demolished or badly damaged, including serious harm to the important Evangelical institutions at Stanislau. In Rumania, wherever the battle line swayed back and forth, one will find the wreck of chapels in which centered the religious aspirations of generations of believers. Scores of churches were destroyed in Russia when Red and White forces grappled for the wreck of the Russian Empire. Serbia and Bulgaria each has its quota of ruined church buildings—mute testimony to the passage of the Four Horsemen who knew no respect for faith or creed.

Minorities are among the most vexed problems in modern Europe, not only for politicians but for the churches. At Versailles the peacemakers reshaped the map of Europe according to the formula of the self-determination of peoples. This necessitated drawing new national boundaries along the *sprachen Grenzen.* Races in Europe weave one into the other over a territory often many kilometers wide. One race group blends into the other by degrees, making it impossible to define exactly where German speech ceases and Polish begins, or where the Polish tongue gives way to Russian or Ukrainian or Czech. There are ten thousand miles of frontiers in Europe, six thousand of which are new since June, 1919. In zones astride the new boundary lines, stretching hither and yon over Europe, live millions of people who find themselves nervous and discontented and not infrequently oppressed, living under governments not to their liking. In addition to those living in the areas of the speech frontiers, there are sizable

blocks of inhabitants of other faiths and culture at some distance from the frontier and separated from their mother race. The islands of Saxons and Magyars in Transylvania are typical examples.

The whole European minority problem was aggravated as far as religion was concerned, by the fact that several new States were formed with strong Catholic majorities. At times, as in Latvia, a majority was obtained by a coalition of the Catholic and Socialist forces. In that country a large Protestant church was taken by the Parliamentary majority and given to the Catholics as a see for a bishop. Political and social antagonism not primarily directed toward the Church often finds it as the chief sufferer, as, for instance, in Poland, where anti-German policy is proving disastrous to the German Protestant churches.

Nearly three million Germans live in a fringe of Czecho-Slovakia, as well as large numbers in Alsace-Lorraine, Poland and several colonies in Russia, principally along the Volga and in the Ukraine. The organization of the German Evangelical Church has been sanctioned by the government of Czecho-Slovakia, but before new parishes can be founded permission must be obtained. Several German pastors returned to Germany because of unsatisfactory relationship with the authorities. Along the eastern marches of Poland are numerous villages composed entirely of White Russians and there are a few Polish villages well within the borders of Soviet Russia.

The South Tyrol, now in the Kingdom of Italy, embraces 230,000 German-speaking people, formerly Austrians, who are suffering severely from the eagerness of the government to Italianize the entire area. The use of German place names is forbidden. The use of German in the four hundred schools of the South Tyrol has been swept away and only Italian allowed. In the face of reassuring speeches made by the king, ministers of state, and high military authorities at the time of the Italian occupation in 1918, revered Tyrolese burgomasters and clergy are peremptorily turned out of office and Fascisti placed in their positions.

There are hundreds of small groups of Protestants scattered

throughout France, Belgium, Austria, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, which present a special problem to the Protestant Church as a whole. The churches in these *diaspora* face a difficult future, confronted not only with hostile social pressure but not infrequently with inimical governmental action. The ministry to them must in many cases be in the nature of the old-fashioned circuit rider and *colporteur* of the far West in America.

Inflation, that most sinister and silent of leprous war maladies, crept silently over Europe to wipe out the investments and accumulations of generations. Every bank balance, every stock and bond, every endowment, from Hamburg to Vladivostock, from Archangel to Odessa, has been quietly destroyed. The endowment of the church institutions of Germany could not be exchanged for a street-car fare. The foundations of the University of Jena or Berlin would not purchase a suit of clothes. This sabotage of thrift has spread a pall of discouragement over the saving middle class and has diminished their sense of social and religious responsibility. Salaries for the clergy are lowered, even in countries where the currency is fairly stable, to the level of mere subsistence. Teachers and ministers are remaining at their posts in starving condition, numbers of them receiving less than five dollars per month in American money, and some in the Saxon and Lutheran churches in Rumania being paid as low as two dollars a month. The problem of pensions for the widows and children of pastors is well-nigh hopeless.

Many strange occurrences took place during the days when the exchange rate was sinking. A pastor drew his salary one morning for one month, amounting to three dollars; by nightfall it had so shrunk that it was worth only ninety-five cents. A farmer's widow who sold a calf and placed the money in the bank could buy only one herring when she withdrew the money three days later.

An examination of the missionary situation reveals a grave problem. Protestant Europe as a home base for missionary effort is greatly weakened. When Germany was compelled by the conditions of peace to cede her colonies to the victors, all

her missionaries were ordered home. Ministers, translators, editors, doctors, nurses, and teachers, to the number of over three thousand, speaking more than three hundred dialects, were recalled from overseas service, representing an almost irreparable cultural disaster to former German colonies and to German missionary endeavor. The destruction of the purchasing power of money in at least ten Continental countries has made necessary a policy of extreme retrenchment in their missionary program. Only with the greatest difficulty can they send forth teachers and doctors and evangelists. If the missionary work of the Protestant Church is to be maintained during the next two decades, a large portion of the support must come from the Western world.

One of the disastrous effects of inflation was the effect on what in Europe is known as Inner Mission work, embracing hospitals, hostels, settlements, clinics, chapels, and various social service activities. In countries like Spain, Poland, and Austria, where such works before the war were partially supported by foreign aid, a drastic curtailment became immediately necessary.

If economic depression and inflation laid hold cruelly upon adults, it was especially severe on the child life of the suffering countries. During the terrible winter of 1923-1924 in many cities of mid-Europe forty to fifty per cent of the population had to be supported by public means and by various relief organizations. Thousands of children could not attend school for lack of shoes or clothing. The *Hungertod* claimed its hundreds of victims and tuberculosis has made already a ghastly harvest among the younger generation.

Theological training is in a more serious plight than at any period in a century. The sidereal figures of post-war *valuta* have carried away endowments and wrecked the possibility of adequate voluntary support. The purchase of new books and current literature for libraries and ample scholarships for deserving men are out of the question. Some of the leading scholars in philology, philosophy, theology, and church history have lived for seven years on inadequate food, and not a few have perished from disease due to undernourishment. The

problem of recruiting and training an adequate minister in a day of such severe financial depression is one of the most serious questions before the church. Only a few confessions in mid-Europe can afford seminaries of their own, most churches being compelled to send their recruits to Switzerland, France, Austria, Scotland, and Holland for their training. In Germany to-day there are about one-half the number of theological students that there were in 1914.

Students and professors continue to live in a condition of extreme poverty in many of the ancient seats of learning. From twenty to thirty-five per cent of the men and women in German and Austrian universities were afflicted with tuberculosis in the years following the war. There was a famine of food, a famine of clothing, and a famine of books. If it had not been for the food and clothing and books given or sold at cost by the European Student Relief of the World's Student Christian Federation, so ably administered by Conrad Hoffman from Geneva, and funds from other agencies, thousands would have perished and other thousands would never have received their education.

One of the most noticeable privations for students, professors, and clergymen, and professional men generally, was the dearth of books and professional journals. Religious and scientific journals were nearly all suppressed for want of means. In Germany alone nearly five hundred such periodicals ceased to publish. Theological and scientific papers can be maintained only with the greatest difficulty. Libraries in cities and universities are years behind in almost every field.

The Dawes Plan has stabilized the currency in Germany, and the League has immeasurably assisted the finances of Hungary and Austria, but the devastation of the cultured middle classes has already taken place. The standard of living throughout Europe is much lower than in 1914. Even in England, where inflation was less severe, one-third of the population live below the poverty line and there are over 1,240,000 on official unemployed lists. One-third of England's national income is claimed by tax collectors. Germany has 1,700,000 unemployed, a list which is constantly being length-

ened. The whole of Europe is laden with debts which it is humanly impossible to pay for at least two generations, if ever.

The lack of clergy in many parts of Protestant Europe is appalling. Scores were killed at the front in the armies of all contestants. Whether or not the church should bless the banners of fighting men, her clergy were not behind in sacrifice of life. Hundreds more have died from old age and disease. Again, the spiritual life of Europe is not calculated to call forth recruits for the Christian ministry. It is as if some new Cadmus had traversed the length and breadth of the Old World sowing the dragon's teeth, raising up soldiers rather than preachers. Many parishes in Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Russia have sought for years for a minister to lead them. Even in France there are one hundred and forty-eight vacant Protestant pulpits eager to secure trained ministers.

The frontier set up by the difference in language within Europe is almost as formidable a barrier to cultural and spiritual fellowship as national and racial antagonism and delays that accord in which alone an atmosphere of conciliation and understanding is possible. In the Middle Ages Latin was the universal language. After the formation of the modern national states and the development of national culture and literature knowledge of other languages became the privilege of only the most cultured groups. In Switzerland where three or even four languages are spoken, and in the Balkan, the Baltic and the Scandinavian States, the frontier of language varies in certain places from village to village. In Holland or Hungary the national and religious life is expressed in a language so localized that it is only spoken by a few millions of citizens who, therefore, cannot easily participate in the stream of new life and ideas flowing in the great international languages of Europe. The language barrier hinders a rapid readjustment to the church life of post-war Europe.

Disunited Protestantism has done much to aid afflicted sister churches but nothing comparable to the immense treasure sent through the Vatican treasury. The Lutheran bodies of America and of other sections of the world have responded gener-

ously and persistently to the needs of their people overseas. Baptists, Methodists, Mennonites, Quakers, Presbyterians, Reformed, and other groups have given to meet European needs in generous fashion. But meanwhile a steady stream of treasure has passed through the Vatican, not only to relieve the need of Catholic groups in Europe but also to enable the Catholic Church to open many new churches, hospitals, and schools. Eighty-eight Protestant institutions closed in Germany in 1923, while in the five years leading up to that date the Catholic Church opened seven hundred such institutions. If the Reformation is to be saved, it must be by the foresight and statesmanship of Protestant leaders who can persuade separate and independent units to do freely that which is accomplished through the iron discipline and centralized authority of the Roman Church. Bigotry now, on the part of either Protestants or Catholics, in the midst of appalling spiritual need, is falseness to Christianity. There is ample room for the best efforts of both. The ideas wrapped up in Protestantism are precious not only to those who refuse the way of the Roman Church, they are also of service to those who espouse freedom of thought in any field, and not least, they are of immense corrective value to the Catholic Church itself.

Chapter II

THE ROOTS OF CONTINENTAL PROTESTANTISM

The rediscovery of the Gospel as one aspect of the revival of learning coupled with the fact that the medieval church was guilty of many abuses, which all historians recognize, combined to mark the early sixteenth century as a period of moral and spiritual renewal.

Morally, the standards of the Church had been shattered. Clerical marriage was not allowed, but concubinage was practiced, and bishops were empowered to license the practice upon the payment of a fee. Extreme poverty in many of the monastic orders produced a large class of vagabonds, who begged for food and clothing, with the ideals of typical gypsy groups. Moral laxity ran throughout the length and breadth of the church from the Vatican to the parish priests. Alexander VI and Julius II are examples of papal immorality in the Renaissance.

Financially, the Church had thrown away many of its ethical standards. Litigation, annates, pluralities, indulgences, and simony were recognized modes of raising money for the papal purse. This treasure was expended upon churches in Rome and upon wars for the expansion or defense of papal territories.

Judicially, the Church had surrounded herself with rights, powers, privileges, and immunities over and above those which were allowed the secular arm. A priest could be summoned before the church court and if a case was appealed to the Church, had to rest within its jurisdiction. As a consequence much litigation was carried to Rome, causing many months of delay and great expense.

Politically, the territorial claims to the papacy and the de-

fense of their rights and privileges brought the Holy See into direct conflict with the governments of every nation. National consciousness sprang up in opposition, and even among those nations which did not break from Rome the feeling of the people forced many of the national churches to be subservient to the state. In the Netherlands, Catholics in response to this feeling reorganized the bishopric with boundaries coincident with national frontiers. Even the Inquisition was more subject to the king than to the Pope.

Charles V of Spain sacked Rome in 1527, captured the Pope and for a time held him as a prisoner. The Hispanization of Italy increased the desire of many nations to throw off their allegiance to the Pope. England broke with Rome largely on this account, for the Pope was not at liberty to let Henry VIII divorce his Spanish queen.

Religiously, the Church had corrupted worship by the multiplication of saints and their alleged capacity to work miracles. There was a patron saint for every occupation and a guardian saint for nearly every ill. This one protected the sailor and that one cured the gout. Pilgrimages often resolved themselves into pillaging expeditions and indulgences transformed religious devotion into a matter of debit and credit.

Voices had been raised against these abuses. Wycliffe had objected to transubstantiation and misuse of property by the Church in England. Jan Hus in Bohemia spoke against indulgences and the denial of the cup to the laity. Savonarola in Italy condemned immorality among the clergy, and Ximenes in Spain sought to compel priests to abide by the rules of the Church. The Brethren of the Common Life in Holland spread into France and Germany anticipating Luther in many of his ideas. Erasmus, who was their disciple, attempted to reform the Church by learning and satire.

Then came Luther with a cataclysmic belief in justification by faith alone based upon the Bible. Conceptions which would inevitably overthrow the authority of Popes and Councils.

The years which Luther spent in the Monastery of Erfurt, including a journey to Rome in 1510-1511, were the time during which an older world was disintegrating and a new one

emerging for him and for many others out of the depths of fervent prayer and a close scrutiny of the Bible.

As a true son of the Roman Church Luther sought to discover in his own soul a solution of the distinctly Catholic antinomy between grace and works, reason and revelation. He was trying at this period to save his soul by doing the utmost that human effort was capable of to save his soul by good works as described by the Church of his day.

When Luther discovered that the grace of God is the only and sufficient factor in the salvation of man, when he was convinced that good works alone were not enough, the reformer was born who set Western Christendom in flames. The soul was to be confronted by God alone. No sacrament, no priest, no magic elements were needed to mediate the grace of God to men. How can I find the merciful God, was henceforth his constant query. The answer given by the Gospel was a direct denial of an old spiritual and churchly order of magic formulæ and ecclesiastical prescriptions.

Luther directed his attack against current immoralities of his day. Temperamentally, he was predisposed to find his belief a matter of salvation by faith alone from a deep and terrible sense of sin. In 1517 he had an opportunity to put his profound inward experiences to the test by meeting a crying abuse. Pope Leo X had for a large financial consideration allowed Albrecht of Brandenburg to hold the two archbishoprics of Mainz and Magdeburg and the administration of the bishopric of Halberstadt. To indemnify himself Albrecht took half the proceeds from the sale of indulgences, the remainder going toward the erection of the great church of St. Peter in Rome. The papal commissioner and salesman, Johann Tetzel, an eloquent Dominican monk, preached the efficacy of indulgences in the crassest terms. Luther was aroused and on October 31, 1517, posted his Ninety-five Theses as subjects for academic debate upon the door of the *Schlosskirche,* the university bulletin board. In a fortnight they had run the length and breadth of Germany.

After two stormy years, in which his people saw in him not only the religious reformer but also the national hero who

was delivering them from foreign spiritual servitude, Luther turned to publication and brought out his tract *On Good Works,* in May, 1520, and three epoch-making treatises which gave him preëminently the place of leadership. In August, 1520, he published *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.* In October, 1520, he printed his profound tract *On Christian Liberty.* The Vatican answered by putting him under the ban, but Luther rejoined by promptly burning the papal indictment.

In championing freedom and the supremacy of the Scriptures Luther was irresistibly led to advocate widespread education among the common people. His name ranks with John Amos Comenius, John Colet, Pestalozzi, and Froebel, as one of the great educators of the modern world. His hymns and tracts quickly became the household possession of thousands.

When brought before the Diet of Worms in April of 1521, Luther represented in himself the combat with miracles, mystery, and authority. It was a turning point for the human spirit when he cried out in the face of the highest tribunal of the nation, *"Hier stehe ich. Ich kan nicht anders. So helfe mir Gott. Amen."*

The Pope could only excommunicate such a stirrer up of strife. The fact that the Catholic Emperor was engaged in fighting the Popes, the French, and the Turks gave him protection and before he died an extensive organization had already been accomplished among Protestant churches. The princes compensated themselves by confiscating church property and later supported the churches by way of interest upon this expropriated land.

During Luther's retirement in the Wartburg he translated the Bible into the vernacular. It was not the first translation into German, but it was the first popular rendition for the common man, and was one of the most influential documents in the formation of the modern German tongue. The New Testament was published at Wittenberg in 1522 and cost one and a half florins, the price of a horse. In spite of the price all copies were sold in a short time. The publication of the whole Bible came in 1534. With the Bible in their hands the peo-

ple were enabled to read the life of Christ for themselves and make their own deductions. After Luther had given the Bible to his people he enriched their spiritual life still further by the organization of instruction in schools and by the collection and publication of hymns. One of his chief tasks was the recruiting and education of a new type of ministry and the formation of a new type of church policy.

Divisive movements soon swept through the Protestant body, causing cleavages which have never been healed.

Heresies grew up in the nature of private interpretation of Scripture. Luther had made the Bible the supreme authority but had not counted upon differences of interpretation.

Ulrich Zwingli, the Swiss humanist, now came upon the scene, a man who had been unable through his classical studies under his master Erasmus to achieve the sense of salvation, a condition which he came to believe was the free gift of God's grace.

Zwingli became a parish priest and because of his learning and patriotic resistance to the employment of Swiss as mercenaries soon rose to prominence. He asserted with Luther that only the Bible was binding on Christians. In 1522 some of his followers broke the Lenten fast and cited Zwingli's preaching to support their position. The government of the canton of Zurich held that the New Testament imposed no fasts, but compromised by holding that they should be observed for the sake of good order. In August of 1523 the Zurich burgomaster ruled that the word of God was to be preached. From this moment the Reformation in Switzerland was fully under way.

Zwingli insisted that the ultimate authority was the Christian community, an authority which should be exercised by the duly constituted civil government acting in accordance with the teachings of the Bible. Only such practices as the Bible commands, or for which authorization can be properly inferred, are allowable or obligatory. This is a much more radical view than Luther held. The secular authority at the beginning of the Swiss Reformation took upon itself the task of carrying out Zwingli's ideas. This theocratic ideal accounts

for the fact that the Reformed State Church became so deeply rooted in the life and mind of the Swiss people for centuries.

The espousal of the Reformation by the state and the people was in harmony with the democratic spirit of the country. The whole movement was characterized by extreme simplicity of worship, the removal of organs, images, relics, and altars; the service taking on a marked sobriety. The doctrine of predestination assumed and kept an important place in Reformed theology.

One of the reasons why it was impossible to form a union of the two groups was that the theological expression of Zwingli's faith was deeply influenced by his humanist education, while Luther on the other hand was more exclusive and made no endeavor to harmonize reason and revelation, culture and the Gospel.

Zwingli was succeeded by Bullinger, who had a large influence upon the early Anglican Church.

John Calvin (1509-1564), the French reformer who was implored to take up his abode in Geneva, produced a system of theology which arrested the attention and controlled the thought of a wide wing of Protestantism and won its way against opposition by the sheer strength of its inexorable logic. The main elements of the combat had already been formulated when Calvin came into the field. When he died on May 27, 1564, he was succeeded by Theodore Beza (1519-1605), but in a sense he left no successor who was comparable in influence and in power. His *Reply to Sadoleto* and his *Institutes* are the best arguments for the Protestant position during the Reformation period.

Calvin's life and works are characterized by certain well-defined events and tendencies. First may be mentioned his systematic spirit and method, his *Institutes* being the first systematization of the Evangelical faith. His theocratic ideal is a dominant note throughout his writings, as well as the emphasis laid upon the glory of God, *Soli Deo Gloria.* His influence and power were vastly enhanced by his having Geneva as a theater of effort, a city, then as now, admirably suited as an international center, especially after the death of Luther.

The terrible doctrine of predestination runs through all his works and has had a tendency to discourage human effort. Calvin, as Zwingli, had a dream for a great Protestant Alliance which should bring together all states embracing the new faith.

But the Reformation in Zurich was not radical enough to satisfy a small group of earnest people, who rose up in criticism of Zwingli's work in the same manner that a similar group assailed Luther. The Anabaptists arrived at the formation of a church of baptized and holy believers and instituted believers' baptism in Zollikon near Zurich on February 7, 1525, while Zwingli was attempting to build up a national church embracing the whole people, a theocracy closely connecting all social institutions in a Christian state. Then social ideals taken from an extreme literalistic interpretation of Scripture produced a revolt, which was put down with the utmost severity. It was a harsh age; all wars were religious wars and little delicacy was shown by any party in this or other conflicts.

Philip of Hesse attempted to form a defensive league of all German and Swiss Evangelicals against the Emperor, influenced by Zwingli's dream of a great Protestant Alliance. The chief obstacle to this plan was the unfortunate doctrinal differences between Luther and Zwingli, differences which Philip hoped might be adjusted in a conference which was called in Marburg on October 1, 1529, when Luther and Melanchthon discussed face to face with Zwingli and Œcolampadius. As the Marburg colloquy ran its course, it became evident that the real point of difference was their conception of the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. Luther stood by the words, "This is my body," as literal truth; Zwingli maintained his old position that the words were symbolic and that it was a memorial feast. A body could not be in two places at the same time. Philip urged the two to draw up fifteen articles of faith, on fourteen of which they were agreed. Although Luther and Zwingli each left with a sense of victory, both were defeated, for the separation between the Lutheran and the Swiss group remained permanent.

Soon came the formation of the two great symbols which, with their amendments and successors, were to guide the Lutheran and Reformed Churches through the years—the Augsburg and the Helvetic Confessions.

The Emperor sent out a call from Italy in 1530 for a Reichstag to meet in Augsburg, with the adjustment of religious differences as the main object. Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Jonas framed their objections to Roman practices which as corrected by Melanchthon formed the second or negative part of the Augsburg Confession. A short time later Melanchthon drafted the affirmative sections. The Confession was chiefly the work of the peace-loving Melanchthon and is widely accepted as the chief symbol of faith among Lutherans.

At the same time, four South German cities inclined toward Zwingli, Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, and sent a confession to the Emperor midway between Zwingli and Luther in its theology, the *Confessio Tetrapolitana,* largely written by Butzer.

In the next two years, 1531 and 1532, Lutheranism spread rapidly, while Swiss Protestantism suffered severely in the loss of Zwingli on October 11, 1531, at the Battle of Kappel, in opposing the forces of the Roman cantons. Zwingli's great idea of a Protestant alliance of Christian cantons and Christian states passed into oblivion. The Reformation in German-speaking Switzerland was permanently arrested and the lines between Catholic and Protestant remain to-day substantially what they were then.

The second great symbol of Protestantism was the *Confessio Helvetica.* The first Helvetic Confession was made in 1536 at Basel by a number of Swiss Evangelical divines, including Bullinger, Gyraneus, Myconius, and others. It was the first confession which represented the faith of all the Reformed cantons of Switzerland, the others having authority only within limited localities. The second Helvetic Confession, made in 1566, acquired even greater authority. With the exception of the Heidelberg Catechism or Palatinate Catechism of 1563, this Confession received the sanction not only of the Swiss

From a painting by Ferdinand Hodler

THE REFORMATION

MONUMENT TO ULRICH ZWINGLI AT ZURICH

Protestant cantons but also of the Reformed Churches of Neufchâtel in 1568; Basel; France, at the Synod of La Rochelle, in 1571; Hungary, at the Synod of Debreczin, in 1567; Poland in 1571 and 1578; and Scotland in 1566. It was also received favorably in Holland and England.

Religious wars marked the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not only between Catholics and Protestants, but between the main branches of the Protestant Church. Religious toleration came slowly; in France by the edict in 1598 to be revoked eighty years later, in Germany in 1648 at the termination of The Thirty Years' War, in England in 1688.

The Protestants inevitably invoked the Counter-Reformation on the part of the Catholic Church as austere as Calvinism. Protestantism developed its ultra-Orthodox groups in Puritanism severe in doctrine and in conduct. The Bible became the authority in place of the Church and the Pope. Confessions and other symbols assumed disproportionate importance and only smaller sects advocated the religion of the Spirit and spiritual toleration.

Once toleration was won, creative energies were turned toward examination of religious history. Biblical criticism and the reconstruction of theology were amplified with the new discoveries of learning in all fields. When Biblical studies destroyed the artificial doctrine of Biblical infallibility the reasons by which many sects separated from the central streams of Protestantism were no longer valid, and we may expect a period of reunion with here and there ultra-conservative groups adhering to old positions.

Rome too felt the thrill of the new freedom for a time, but two decades ago the Modernist group were excommunicated by Pius X, who brought the Church back to her ancient dogmatic position.

The Reformation and the Protestant movement was a revolt against the abuses of a powerful ecclesiastical monopoly. Although it was to some extent a reflection of the growing sense of nationalism it was mainly a protest against a naïve and unethical method of granting forgiveness of sin, thereby warping ethical judgment and making religion a matter of external

materialism. It appealed for a higher spiritual allegiance than any loyalty to Pope or Church; it fostered a larger measure of local autonomy within congregations and parishes; it insisted that the Scriptures should be the guide of faith and practice, and upheld the liberty of the individual to interpret Sacred Writ for himself. As a corollary to this contention, it of necessity sponsored widespread dissemination of learning among the common people, Luther and Zwingli and Calvin occupying a large place in the history of education. The Reformation necessitated a more democratic educational and political system. These are the permanent values wrested from the Holy See by the protesting churchmen.

The Protestant Church, so vital to the intellectual and spiritual life of post-war Europe, is seriously jeopardized. Because the political, military, and economic disasters have been constantly before the eyes of the world, because bread and safety are immediate needs and have received the attention of statesmen, because the Church is less vocal in its hour of tribulation than many other interests, and because it is essentially a voluntary, elective relationship,—the seriousness of the condition of European Protestantism has largely escaped the notice of the Western world.

Chapter III

THE ANTECEDENTS OF PRESENT-DAY MOVEMENTS IN EUROPEAN LIFE

The churches of the Old World find themselves in the midst of events which had their antecedents in the immediate past. In former decades the church in every land has to some degree failed to understand the import of certain widespread movements in society. In the sociological era in which the church now finds itself it is necessary to comprehend the past in order to be prepared to meet the exigencies of the present.

The key to current movements in their political, industrial and cultural life is to be found in the characteristics of the last century, a period profoundly marked by revolution, nationalism, industrialism, and the growth of socialistic ideas.

A general disaffection in the years between 1830 and 1848 sprang up as a response to the reactionary policies of Metternich and his school, which were so notable a feature of the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Revolutionary groups arose in Hungary, Austria, Germany, France, Holland, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland. By the year 1848 parties throughout Central Europe were clamoring for more liberal governments. The abdication of Louis Philippe proved to be the signal for revolutionary movements throughout Central Europe. Vienna was the scene of plot and counterplot.

The Hungarian Diet in 1847 had attempted to pass legislation to pacify these discontented spirits. Kossuth made an inflammatory speech in the Diet on March 3, 1848, demanding a free constitution for the various races within the Empire, which shook the state. Rioting broke out in Vienna and soldiers, workmen, and students were soon fighting over barricades. Bohemia at this time demanded and received substantial reforms. Metternich, who had held the Austrian Empire in

his hands since the Congress of Vienna, seeing his system of reaction collapse, fled in disguise to England. By a series of acts, in March Hungary established her independence but acknowledged the legitimacy of the dual monarchy with a Hapsburg emperor as king of Hungary.

The troubles of Austria gave the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, then in the hands of Austria, her long sought opportunity. Milan thrust out the Austrian garrison, and Venice and neighboring cities, under the leadership of Daniel Manin, declared Venetia to be once again a republic. Piedmont, Naples, Tuscany, and even the Papal States, sent drafts of troops to fight the Austrians.

The outbreak in the Danube countries had immediate repercussion in Germany. In March a seven days' war over barricades left a number of killed and wounded to further embitter the struggle for a genuine parliament. The movement was successful and resulted in the Vorparlament, which met at Heidelberg on March 31 to April 4 to arrange for the election by popular vote of delegates to draw up a national constitution. The first German National Assembly met on May 18 at Frankfort and became known as the Parliament of Frankfort.

A second tide of reaction now set in. Germans and Czechs were soon fighting each other in the streets of Prague and were only subdued by the bombardment of the city by Windischgrätz, commander of the Imperial Austrian troops in Prague. In Italy the aged Austrian general, Radetzky, was aided by the jealousies of the papal, Neapolitan and Etruscan troops, who returned to their homes, leaving Charles Albert to be severely defeated at the Battle of Custozza on July 25. Then came the humiliation of Hungary beneath the combined armies of Francis Joseph and Nicholas I of Russia.

Nationalism was the natural outgrowth of the feeling of racial unity bred by oppression and developed by cultural and political leaders. Reactions suffocated the revolutionary conflagrations for the time, but they smoldered beneath the surface, cementing together those of the same race and tongue and later giving rise to the movements which brought about the

formation of Belgium, the unification of Italy, the organization of the German Empire, and the liberation of Rumania, Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia from the Turk, and finally resulted at the close of the Great War in the formation of new states along national, linguistic, and racial lines, including Poland, Greater Rumania, Jugoslavia, and Czecho-Slovakia, although each of these states include self-conscious minorities clamoring for autonomy. The church, as all human institutions, was caught up in nationalistic feeling and identified itself with national hopes and efforts.

Industrialism with its machines and factory system came upon the scene in the middle of the last century, to profoundly change European civilization. Steam, electricity, and gas revolutionized mining, transportation, and manufacture, causing vast shifts of population from country to city, and social and economic dislocations similar to those consequent upon the industrial revolution in England and America.

Industrial expansion brought political and commercial imperialism and nations began the race for access to the sea, foreign markets, raw materials, coal and iron. Around factory centers have grown up populations dependent on other countries for food supplies. Switzerland has bread enough to feed herself for fifty-five days only. England raises food supplies for only six weeks' consumption. Industrialism has made nations more dependent on each other and has brought added reasons for suspicion and friction. Rudyard Kipling's idea of "The Peace of Dives," the recognition of this mutual dependence and responsibility to preserve peace, proved a broken reed when the holocaust struck Europe in August, 1914.

The fourth characteristic of the last century was the rising power of socialism. Industrialism grew up under the protection of liberalism, which repudiated the idea of control by society in the process of production and left all responsibility in the hands of the individual, the employer. By the introduction of machines, by underpaying the workers, and exploiting the unprotected lower social classes, industrialism reduced the working masses to a state of misery which provided a hotbed for the seed of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Las-

salle. Marx's writings became the Bible of the working millions of Europe. These representatives of the underprivileged groups grew in political power, entering parliaments and undermining the authority of governments. They were opponents of the national idea and were kept down artificially by political maneuvers and strong armies in Central and Eastern Europe. All the modern rights of labor had to be torn away by force from the reluctant fists of governing classes.

Neither state nor church knew how to bridge the widening gulf between the upper and middle classes on one side and labor on the other. The church, strongly identified with the state and the ruling classes, as yet unwilling to recognize the social implications of the Gospel, was unable to maintain its grip on the workers, who by thousands gave up their religious ties in order to create a new creed of materialism, embracing as its chief articles the class struggle, the social cataclysm, and the final victory of labor. It is impossible to understand the present religious condition in Europe without insight into this process of social transformation which began in the last century.

Nationalist aspirations, commercial rivalry, and socialist disintegration of society and of the state, together with some evil genius which infested the chancellories of the Old World, prepared the way for the great upheaval which has redrawn the map of Europe. The war was the last sinister manifestation of that Spirit of Earth which held the European mind in thrall and dominated its faithless soul, which as far as its religious leadership went was a hybrid generation born of Mammon and the Will to Power.

The political and social disturbances of the last century, together with the war, have brought not only a realignment of life which has dismembered many century-old churches and has given the broken fragments to the discouraged and impoverished populations of new states, but has also caused a reassessment of all life's values by the individuals who compose the churches.

Chapter IV

EMERGING POLITICAL IDEALS

Out of the post-war mêlée two political ideals have arisen which are struggling for the possession of Europe, nationalism and internationalism. Both causes have conscientious advocates, but mixed with noble motives are many sinister strains which threaten the peace of the world. During the nineteenth century political power lay largely in the hands of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, and Italy. After the war Russia was cut off from the social and political life of the Continent by the Bolshevik Revolution. Great Britain at different times emphasized her insular position and occasionally seemed disinterested in Continental affairs. The predominant political influence, after the defeat of Germany and the disruption of the Hapsburg monarchy, fell therefore to France. She was strengthened by the sympathy of those new states which owed their existence to French diplomacy and the victory of the Allies, including Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Jugoslavia.

The result of clashing interests has been a sharp conflict between political powers. In sharp antagonism to France stand the former German, Austrian, and Hungarian peoples, and, in many matters, England. War enmity was not lessened by the treaty of Versailles and pervades the whole political, social, and religious life of the Continent. The key problem in the mind of Europe is the German-French tension. As long as this deep-seated animosity persists, peace is unattainable for Europe.

Nationalism is the natural consequence of such a struggle. With an armed truce existing between two of the most powerful Continental countries, it is understandable that the new

states, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Jugoslavia, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania, should try to strengthen themselves by fostering a fervid patriotism, a nationalistic spirit within their newly delimited frontiers. Several of these states deny equal rights to minorities by refusing them the use of their language in official intercourse, by affording higher education only in the tongue of the national majority, or by declaring one church as the official state religion to the disadvantage of other confessions. The minority problem, in all its aspects, is one of the bitterest and most perplexing of the difficulties on the Continent and it exists largely because of the pressure of post-war nationalistic feeling.

Standing armies are justified by nations unable to bear their support on the grounds of national safety. Minority populations and defeated and vengeful neighbors cause ministers of state to dream of martial combat and the sound of marching men. Up to the day of Locarno, the Continent was a camp of armed mutual suspicion, and even since Locarno in many places of Europe the conviction still prevails that the present map of the Continent cannot be considered as final. Evidently the German-French tension is weakening, which has an ameliorating effect in the East. Friendly contacts have begun again between small groups representing science or art or religion, the pioneers of a new peace built upon mutual respect and collaboration.

The Russian situation, that scarehead of European politics, was left untouched at Locarno and remains to vex Continental diplomats. The missionary spirit of Bolshevism still considers Red political formulæ as the sole remedy for the unethical civilization of Western capitalistic nations. Behind Bolshevik emissaries in the Western countries is Russian gold, Russian politics, the Red Army, and the avowed will of her leaders to overthrow the whole social and political system of the Western world. If disarmament in Central and Western Europe is winning ground slowly, this retarded pace is in some measure due to the fear of subversive Russian propaganda backed by the greatest potential army any European country could muster. In the Central and Western countries, small but resolute

groups of communists would be ready to accept revolutionary orders from Moscow. Undoubtedly the Red menace has been used by reactionaries to stampede liberals and voters generally into the conservative ranks, but the fear of Russia is an objective fact and as such is important.

In addition to the antagonism between different political powers represented by the inflamed spirit of nationalism, a sharp struggle is occurring between political ideas. A notable feature of contemporary European politics is the weakened position of liberalism. The political battle in most Continental states is no longer between conservative and liberal forces, but between conservative and socialist groups. The example of England is illuminating in this respect. In this fight on the Continent the most astonishing alliances have been formed, conservatism finding its allies not only in monarchism, imperialism, fascism, but also in the circle of national churches closely connected with the historic state, with socialism at times consummating opportunist alliances with Catholic Center parties. Liberalism owes its lack of attraction not only to its individualistic character, but mainly to the fact that most of its postulates have become reality so that even conservatism defends a part of their program. The history of liberalism in modern Europe is the history of the modern political idea in general, which is nothing less than the ideal of liberty.[1]

Internationalism in various aspects is claiming an important place in the press, in the conversation, and in the politics of Europe. *Pan Europa,* the idea of a European commonwealth, the United States of Europe, has slowly won ground amid the chaos of clashing nationalist aspirations, the rivalry of races, and the hatred and suspicion of political parties. This idea has had many advocates, chief of whom is Count Coudenhove-Kalergi. Europe as such has been little more than a geographical notion. Political, racial, national, and cultural differentiation has prevented the birth of a common European consciousness. To feel oneself a European has been the privilege of an intellectual élite—authors, artists, dwellers in the realm of ideas and of beauty. The churches, although repre-

[1] Ruggieri, *Storia del Liberalismo.* Laterza Bari, 1925.

senting in their message a supra-national ideal, have failed to share in any large way in this growing hope.

To-day the existence of the League of Nations has caused many to shift their allegiance from *Pan Europa* to that organization, but the point to be noted is the growing self-consciousness of a European mind.

The League is undoubtedly commanding a larger confidence in nearly every quarter. Leon Bourgeois, President of the French Senate, recently remarked: "No State has the right or the power to live in isolation. The duty and the supreme interest of the States lay in their collaboration and the League of Nations is the peaceful method whereby those duties and rights are defined. It will be the practical school of the universal ethics." Gabriel Seailles, professor at the Sorbonne in Paris, blames nationalists in all camps for Europe's ills, and expresses a desire "that the peoples would claim from their governments a policy of an *entente européenne* instead of national rivalry." Professor Aulard, the distinguished historian of the French Revolution, predicted that "peace will only come to the civilized world when France and Germany, understanding their common interests, decide to make war no more against each other and when the world has confidence in this decision." The French poet Duhamel declared that "reconstruction is possible only with a radical alteration of our political, diplomatic, economic and military systems. The world can still be saved by a union of its moral forces." Senator d'Estournelles de Constant sees the possibility of peace "in the deliverance of France and the whole world of that nationalistic spirit which is the scourge of the nations." Dr. Simons, President of the High Court of Justice in Germany, recently advocated such "a mutual understanding also between former enemies" and emphasized "the German obligation to pay to the limit of their forces." Pastor Siegmund-Schultze of Berlin remarked that he could not "see how the Churches and all Christians can escape the duty of working for peace and reconciliation in the Spirit of Christ." Prince Hohenlohe, who even during the war was an advocate of peace, said before his death: "What is necessary is to have the courage to renounce

in spite of the nationalist fire-eaters a policy of prestige and to come back to reason." The biologist Hans Driesch wrote that "the welfare of the world depends on the consolidation of the League of Nations, whose idea has been proclaimed long ago by the greatest philosopher, Kant." Professor Rade, editor of *The Christian World,* recently declared, "A policy of mutual confidence is the only policy possible to-day."

It is almost universally recognized in Europe that the League of Nations is not only building up the foundation of a new world unity, but also of a new European consciousness. Its moral influence will be immensely enhanced when Germany and Russia enter the League and assume their full share of the responsibilities connected with membership.

Among Protestant churches in Western Europe, one of the strongest educational influences along political lines has been The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. This organization has been strongly supported, especially in England and throughout the neutral countries. Like most church organizations, it stands squarely behind the League of Nations and the World Court. The Quakers have done much through their magnanimous work of reconciliation to allay war hatreds and generate mutual confidence.

The mind of Europe is characterized by the competition between two ideals, that of separate states living in comparative isolation, hemmed in by national pride and self-reliance, fortified by outside alliances and balances of power, and that more inclusive ideal of European culture embraced in the scheme of *Pan Europa,* or in the ideal advocated by the protagonists of the League of Nations. In this struggle for an adequate conception of life and intercourse between civilized states, no institution has a greater stake or a greater mission to society than the church, for the peoples of the Old World must choose between Christianity and chaos.

Chapter V

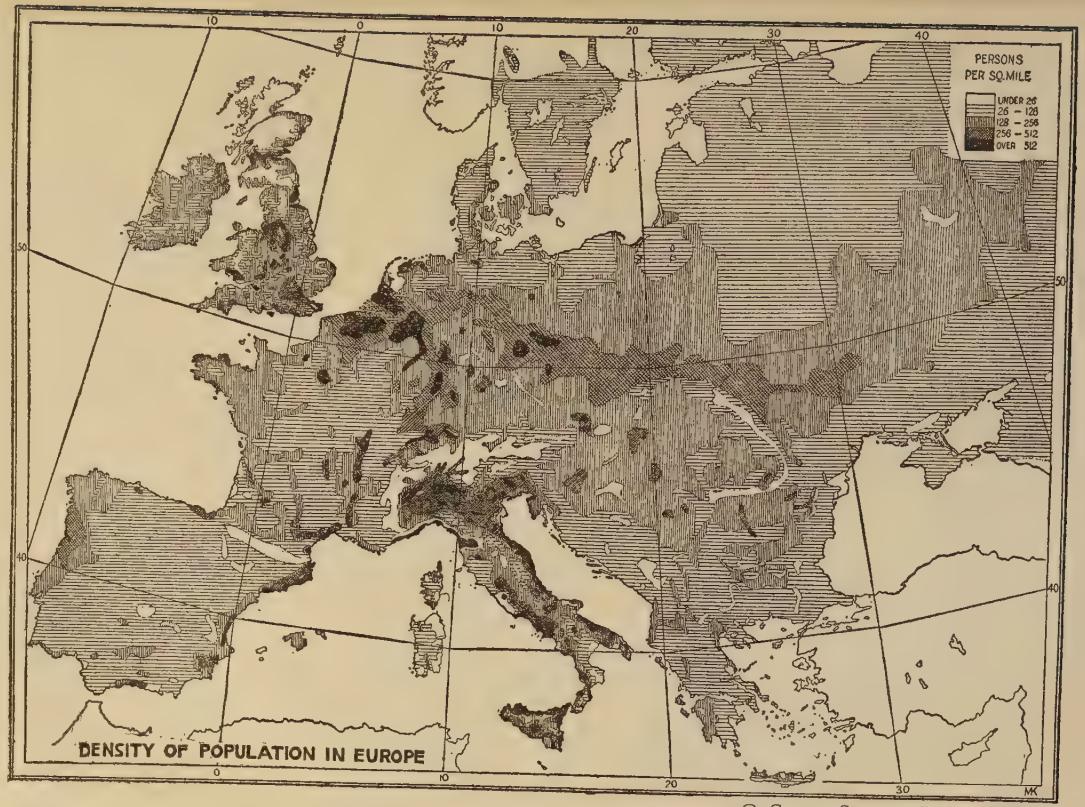
THE BACKWASH OF INDUSTRIALISM

The spiritual life of Europe has been profoundly influenced by the growth of modern manufacturing and mining and the development of rapid means of transportation, and it is in the midst of these radical readjustments that the church must discover effective ways of ministering to the modern mind.

European nations fall roughly into two classes: they are either commercial and industrial like Great Britain, or agricultural like Hungary and Russia. Germany has been transformed in a few decades from an almost purely agricultural country into a modern industrial nation. Others are still in a period of transition. Both categories are seeking markets for their products.

Industrialism brought with it a whole train of consequences calculated to arouse animosities between governments and peoples and to strangle the esthetic and spiritual life of working populations. European markets, closed everywhere by national boundaries, cannot provide ample support for entire peoples throughout the year. An elaborate system of protective tariffs is in reality a method of warfare. If Norway favoring the prohibition movement shuts her frontiers against Spanish wine, Spain excludes Norwegian sardines from her territory. Great Britain, entirely industrialized, is in an exceedingly precarious condition, with an enormous industrial population and a diminishing overseas trade due to the cheaper price of German goods. Industrialism has brought a struggle for markets which is a life and death encounter for most modern manufacturing states.

Many European nations, saturated with an abundant manufacturing population, have been able to maintain a high standard of living by the release afforded through emigration.



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SKETCH MAP SHOWING OVER-POPULATED INDUSTRIAL CENTERS IN EUROPE

Italy, unable to nourish her sons and daughters, encourages them to find seasonal employment overseas. Formerly emigration was greatest from the Northern and Western nations, but in recent decades the Southern and Eastern countries are encouraging their surplus population to find its way into foreign lands. If this emigrant population is to remain a national asset of the mother country, colonies are a necessity. When countries like the United States close their frontiers against immigration, the population pressure becomes excessive and an added reason for aggressive colonization comes to the front.

Organized and militant labor is the inevitable consequence of organized and militant capital. Labor in an international organization had formed one front against the capitalistic state before the war. This front broke down at the beginning of hostilities. Not only did the governments hinder any attempt for an international labor or peace policy, but labor itself stood for national defense and helped to vote the credits for the war.

To-day the international labor organization has been built up again. But it is weakened by nationalism, by fascism with international tendencies, and by the Communist Third International whose revolutionary radicalism raises up more opponents among the middle and professional classes to the evolutionary tendencies of organized labor than the antagonism of capital.

Nevertheless labor has been able in several instances to take over the government of European states. Great Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, and others have had their labor governments, and in many other states government is impossible without the political collaboration of labor. Labor more and more tends to indirect or political action. The power of labor is also increased by the proletarization of the middle classes impoverished in the war. The vanishing of the middle class is one of the most striking social facts of the post-war situation. Strong labor parties will be one of the outstanding political factors of the decades immediately ahead.

Chronic and seasonal unemployment of vast groups dependent upon modern industrialism makes the seriousness of

the European economic situation even more acute. England has still more than 1,240,000 unemployed, and Germany to-day has 1,700,000. During the winter of 1923, forty to sixty per cent of the population in certain German cities were supported from public funds. The uncertainty of the economic and industrial situation is a strong asset for socialism and its political program.

Such conditions have turned the thoughts of many millions of working people toward socialism, whose magna charta is still Marx's *Das Kapital.* Labor sees in the present pauperization of the working class, in the mechanization and degradation of human labor, a justification of Marx's theories of the increasing social crisis and ultimate catastrophe. Marx has rendered the working classes conscious of their situation and has lifted a social ideal above the darkness of their misery. He has given them a dynamic impulse of an almost religious eschatological character, a kind of Messianic hope.

The socialist movement has its tragic aspects, in that it tends to smother idealistic impulses in the deadly embrace of materialism. An irreparable damage occurred to the cultural life of the Old World when the socialist movement, naturally idealist, was transformed into a class struggle chiefly for economic advantage. If Christianity and socialism could have found each other, as was the hope of such Christian social pioneers as Carlyle, Kingsley, Denison, Wichern, Stöcker and Fallot, the day of a better and more ethical order would have been immeasurably hastened.

Chapter VI

THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL TURMOIL

The cultural problem of Europe lies not only in the variety of its national and racial developments and in the radical adjustment of life to the new industrialism, but also in the grave questions which have arisen from the suffering and frustration of recent years.

Three great cultural spheres are interwoven and are reacting upon one another in the Old World: Latin civilization under the leadership of France; Germanic culture, itself a mixture of the mystical spirit of the Southeast and the rational dynamic character of the Northwest, and Slavic culture to the East and Southeast. England maintains its insular position in respect to Continental culture. Its influence on the Continent is felt more in the political and commercial spheres than in the interchange of ideas.

The decades before the war were characterized by the beginning of a struggle between the cultural ideals of the bourgeoisie and the rising tide of socialism which became visible in the nineties. The Norwegian dramatist Ibsen, the Dane Georg Brandes, the German novelist Thomas Mann, Tolstoi, Anatole France, Bertrand Russell, H. G. Wells, Oswald Spengler, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, and Bernard Shaw may be cited as critics of a society with marked symptoms of disintegration.

The moralism of the Victorian era became problematic and revealed its insufficiency in the face of the deeper mystical and demonic life forces rising in a wave of new social problems. The solid structure of modern scientific knowledge, construed on the principles of intellectualism and positivism, was shaken by a growing relativism and skepticism. The intellectual, moral, and religious values, which hitherto had been considered

as absolute, became only relative. The French writer Barrès characterized the intellectual revolution of this period as the *"passage de l'absolu au relatif."*

Another aspect of the same revolution became visible in philosophy, where an irrationalism took the place of rationalism. Nietzsche's doctrine became predominant and expressed the irrationalist tendency of the modern mind as the will to power, reflecting the growing appetite of modern states. The pragmatism of Bergson, Vaihinger, Schiller and James gained influence throughout Europe and taught it energy rather than clearness of thinking or lofty moral ideals. The whole movement tended more to an increase or an intensification of life than to knowledge, or to that abstract wisdom which was the pride of the great idealist sages of a century past.

Art and literature undergoing the manifold influences of changing fashions reflected the same process of disintegration. In some of its most characteristic manifestations, an exaggerated estheticism expressed in the unsocial formula *l'art pour l'art* revealed not only the loss of great leading conceptions and of supreme values, the lack of contact with the community and of influence on the formation of its ideals, but made it clear that European culture in its most competent expressions in art and literature was dechristianized. In its *fin de siècle* decadence, a modern self-conscious paganism lifted its head whose heroes were Anatole France, Baudelaire, Swinburne and Artzibaschef.

Disintegrating tendencies in this period penetrated deeply into religious life and thought. A shallow latitudinarianism and quietism gained ground in church life and an abstract idealism, an historic and psychologist relativism, and a modern humanism took the place of the objective truths for which the ancients gave blood and life. Cheap editions of materialistic literature by Büchner, Vogt, Haeckel and others had added to the confusion of soul.

It is not surprising that such manifestations led to a cultural chaos, easily apparent to those who had eyes to see long before the war.[1] The dissolution of all objective values, the

[1] See H. Hesse, *Blick ins Chaos.*

gradual disappearance of norms in political, social and moral life, indifference to religious sanctions, made further progress during and after the war. A feeling of the approaching end came over the mind. It found in Central Europe its most powerful expression in Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes,* one of the most widely read books of the time written by a strong exponent of that deep cultural pessimism which pervades the soul of Europe. According to this book, cultures are like growing plants, blossoming when they are old and have lost their vitality. This is the case, says Spengler, with the culture of the last period. Its days are doomed, its ideals emptied, its force exhausted—a new day is dawning, a new culture rising, holding mankind in its iron grip of technical, commercial, and social necessities, of which America is the outstanding example.

It is characteristic of this chaotic disintegration of culture that Russia, with its mysticism and irrationalism, attracted the attention of the Western world. Tolstoi, Solevieff, and most of all Dostoievski, became the spokesmen of the primitive Slavic world, deeply religious and of incalculable spiritual power. In Dostoievski's writings interest was focused not only on the pathological, subconscious phenomena of soul and society, but on chaos as a human end, as a judgment on this eon, as a mysterious well out of which the saintly forces of God's spirit are rising to rejuvenate the world. Dostoievsky, in many of his most impressive and religious scenes, argues that God's spirit is nearest to the human soul not where it has attained the highest degree of moral perfection or effort, but where it is at its end, where it is dying under the supreme judgment. As Luther said, God vivifies by killing.

If the present chaos is thus understood not only as an end but as a new possibility of life, it looks hopeful. Indeed, there are signs of an inner rebirth, a new orientation in the best of European leaders, although nobody is able at present to point to a path leading out of the maelstrom. But chaos is not only disintegration of a world of formerly solid elements; it means that the world has again become plastic, willing to undergo reshaping at the hands of creative spirits.

It would be too early to say in what direction a new culture is developing, but a few features are already visible. The European mind seems to be in search of new values. It is slowly eliminating the poison of that deadly relativism and skepticism which undermined culture and society. In the phenomenological philosophy of our day, in the philosophical works of Husserl, Windelband, Scheler, Benedetto Croce, Boutroux, as well as in the neoscholastic Catholic movement, a high place is again assigned to the regulating and creative function of the ideal, of leading norms for life and thought. A new realism or objectivism, including all relative values, is rising in philosophy and theology as well as in literature. In a word, the world is again discovering the Absolute.

Several hopeful signs are apparent. The first is the common conviction of all leading spirits that a highly developed commercial and educational system, science, art, and literature, cannot guarantee happiness nor assure the security of human society. For any adequate measure of safety, more deeply spiritual forces are needed to fortify the soul of Europe. In the expressionism of modern art, even if it is crude or primitive, we can see this tendency, often misunderstood or misrepresented, in an effort to influence a superficial civilization from within, to penetrate it with what is in the soul of man. The same tendency is visible in the attraction which Russian literature exerts on the European mind. Certain writers of the last decades preached the courage of the instinct, and the French writer Proust, *"le courage de l'esprit."*

A second hopeful indication in the present chaos is a genuine attempt in certain quarters at intellectual and moral disarmament. After the war, even scientific societies excluded members from late enemy states from scientific collaboration. To-day this aspect of post-war hatred has largely passed away. Not only churches and youth movements of different countries meet again, but also literary groups, as that of Pontigny between French and Germans, the *Kulturverband* which tries to build up collaboration in intellectual and artistic spheres. Intellectual leaders, including Romain Rolland, Henri Bergson, Longevin, Thibaudet, Barbusse; the Germans, Thomas Mann,

Curtius, A. Weber; the Austrians, Hoffmansthal and Bahr; the Spanish, Ortega and Unamuno; the English, Shaw, Wells, and Gilbert Murray; Northern writers such as Brandes, Knut Hamsun and Selma Lagerlöf; the Swiss writer Spitteler and the Swiss painter Hodler, have made authentic contributions to the formation of a European mind.

The third hopeful feature in the present crisis is the birth of Europeanism in intellectual and religious life. This development of a common European cultural consciousness does not prevent each nation from having its own mission. France may continue to be the advocate of the rights of man among the nations, and to proclaim the principle of democracy in the field of cultural collaboration.[2] Germany may see its function in that universality of the mind which tries to interpret the best of the world in the teaching of scientific methods. Countries like Switzerland and Holland are predestined for the function of translation and interchange between cultures and nations.

But this special task of each nation does not preclude its intellectual and social coöperation within a larger European organism. The horizon is widening and shows the transformation of a national cultural feeling into a European consciousness which is hospitable enough to receive influences from the East and the West. Prominent European reviews, as the *Revue de Genève* and the *Europäische Revue* and *Revue Européenne,* are serving this aim, and a European literature is developing. "The man who is really alive," says E. R. Curtius, "is not therefore a bad Frenchman or German because he plays together with others in the European concert."

This development of a European consciousness and intellectual collaboration greatly strengthens efforts made by European churches to enter into friendly relations with one another and to bury an antiquated ecclesiastical nationalism. Although there is to-day a greater gulf between culture and religion than before the war, the life of the churches is inevitably being influenced by the intellectual currents of the period and in turn exerts an influence of its own.

[2] M. Scheler, *Ueber die Nationalideen der grossen Nationen.* Leipzig, 1923, Bd. 2 of *Schriften zur Sociologie.*

Chapter VII

CONTINENTAL YOUTH MOVEMENTS

The churches overseas are in desperate need of well-trained youth for future leadership. The accumulations of the past and all possibilities for the future lie in the ability of the church to enlist and train for her service the best of her young men and women.

The war arrested the development of European young life. Four years of fighting in the field occupied time which would normally have been spent by young men and women in the keen companionship of university and school or in establishing themselves in various lines of employment. When the *demobilisés* found their way back to poverty-stricken homes and prostrate universities, it was a different generation from the one which had preceded it. The rigors of life in the trenches had snatched away physical stamina from thousands of men, and an equal number of women had been weakened by long hours in factories with insufficient food.

Young men and women trooped up to institutions of higher learning, after facing death for years, and were compelled to study with insufficient books and housing, the vast majority having at most only one warm meal each day. Gaunt professors fed pallid students with the bread of learning without which the soul of the race would perish. Thousands died of tuberculosis, typhus, and starvation. Through years of incredible hardship the generation just swinging into its most creative years grappled with the problems of the post-war era. Thousands felt that the war had killed the most beautiful years of life. Many passed without intermittance from the days of happy childhood into the deadly, joyless earnestness of mature manhood and womanhood, amid intolerable conditions. It has been in the midst of such conditions that young men and women of the Old World have been seeking a philosophy of life and an effective means of working together.

European youth movements may be divided into three main categories: those which are purely political or are exponents of some special economic or social theory, those which are purely cultural, and those which are based upon a definite Christian program.

The Social Democratic Youth International was organized in its present form in 1923 when a congress at Hamburg united thirty-three national movements with a membership of 250,000, a figure which has since shrunk to 202,525.

The objectives of this organization are not only political but also educational and cultural, looking toward a society builded upon a new type of manhood and womanhood. In common with the German youth movement they are opposed to alcohol, tobacco, and the commercialized cinema and drama. Young people are encouraged to enjoy nature and appreciate art. Folk dancing, singing, camping, and political activities largely limited to publications and demonstrations, constitute the positive side of their program. Both men and women participate in the activities and share leadership and responsibility together. Although a large measure of autonomy is given, the general guidance of the whole movement comes from the Social Democratic International at Amsterdam.

Their activities include large international demonstrations such as the one on Whitsuntide at Amsterdam in 1926 when thousands gathered to demonstrate the unity of socialistic youth, leaders' conferences, in which methods are discussed and experience is shared, international correspondence, and international news service. Class solidarity with the social democratic movements of other nations is a marked characteristic of this movement.

The Communistic Youth International, the K.I.J., came into being in 1919 as a protest to existing social democratic organizations of youth whose less radical program they condemned as mere social palliatives. The stormy years following 1919, replete with revolution and social change, provided a favorable period for rapid growth which reached a peak in 1923 when Germany reported 65,000 members, a number which after a period of reaction was reduced to 12,000 mem-

bers by 1926. The movement has experienced a similar decline in all western European countries until to-day many of the national sections count only a few hundred or a few thousand members. In the East growth has continued. Russia, Mongolia, China, Korea, Japan, and the East Indies have witnessed continuous extension. The Komsomol movement in Russia claims a million and a half, and has exercised a marked influence upon Chinese student thought.

The K.I.J. is the most highly centralized of any international organization of youth; all national sections being directed by the Executive Committee from Moscow. The avowed objective of this fighting group is the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat through political means. Even children are sent to participate in strikes, demonstrations, and elections, and in the promotion of the "cell system" of propagation by small groups.

The executive committee was induced, because of the successful activities of the Y.M.C.A. in the recreational and cultural field, to prescribe that all national movements should emphasize this type of activity not less than political measures. In common with most orthodox communist bodies anti-religious propaganda calculated to influence young laborers is one of the chief features of their program. Pilgrimages of young laborers to Russia are arranged to inform the youth of the West as to the benefits of communist rule. In spite of all efforts membership has steadily declined.

The second group of youth organizations embraces those with purely cultural objectives. Youth had felt at the close of the last century that something was wrong in the life of the time. A growing isolation from adult life and a repudiation of its ideals had led in the eighties and nineties to the formation of youth movements in search of new forms of life radically different from what they had experienced among older people. They were attempting to clear away the widespread compromise between ideals and realities in the modern world. Germany was the center of these early movements.

In large towns boys and girls preferred to wander in little groups and go back to the simplicity and beauty of nature. In

singing, camping, and wandering they discovered a close communion with each other, a new style of life and conduct much simpler and healthier than before, and experienced a comradeship which seemed to them more desirable than anything family or school or church could offer them. The movement called *Wandervogel,* wanderbird, developed into a loose organization which by 1897 numbered nearly half a million members, grouped together in different associations with a leadership composed chiefly of students.

In 1913 a huge Youth Conference was held in the Hohen Meissner dominated by a new idealism as manifested in the famous declaration: "To be young means to shape one's life with inward sincerity, to feel one's individuality, and to accept full responsibility for it."

This movement found an echo in the young proletariat, attracted by its criticism of the ruling culture and dissatisfied with the sham idealism in church and state and the crude materialism of working classes.

Gunther Dehn, who made a special study of the mentality of young people in the working classes, discovered an appalling lack of religious instruction by the church and of those ideals which the school purported to instil into young minds. Proletarian youth shares the mistrust of the whole labor class against the activity of the church, which is judged as serving the ruling classes. The church is identified with the bourgeoisie. For many the new youth movement with its freshness of ideals was a substitute for a religion which failed to quicken their hearts. In contact with nature they are satisfying what is left of religious feeling in their souls, and in relationship with other groups of the youth movement they are realizing a larger communion than that with their own class.

The fear which afflicted many of the older generation, that youth would join the ranks of atheism is no longer felt. In a recent issue of a student socialist periodical, the remark was made: "The atheist formula 'we do not want God' is no more. These phrases were merely passing specters. They are no longer modern or forward-looking. The void soul stretches forth hungry hands out of a noisy civilization."

The *Confédération Internationale des Etudiants* is another movement with purely cultural ideals which has conducted several conferences since the war and is maintaining a helpful service of information in various centers in addition to arranging a system of tours. The Confederation is a non-religious and non-political organization which is seeking to deepen the fellowship between the younger intellectual groups of the various nations.

The Boy Scout Movement, founded by Sir Robert Baden-Powell, had a rapid development before the war and its international character was established at the World Jamboree of London in 1920, when an international Scout Bureau was founded. The movement is not centralized, the Bureau being an agency of coördination, documentation and information. Scouting is a general educational principle that can be used and applied by those of different confessions and different political creeds, embracing Roman Catholics and Jews, Protestants and Mohammedans. The emphasis on practical service, the belief in brotherhood and friendship among nations and races of the Scout movement, have wrought among its members a strong consciousness of belonging to a world organization.

The International League of Youth and the World Federation of Youth for Peace are closely connected. The former was founded at Copenhagen in 1921 and held its second meeting at Hamburg in 1922. It has made little progress in carrying out its aim to establish a comprehensive league of youth of all confessions and creeds connected with the World Federation of Youth for Peace. The latter has branches in the United States, where it is called The Fellowship of Youth for Peace, as well as in England where it is called the British Federation of Youth, and a section in Holland. The object of both is to unite all national and international organizations of youth and to work towards a world's congress of youth to be held in 1928 or 1929. Certain groups have agitated for the organization to adopt more specific aims of a democratic and pacifist nature, but the majority held for a movement that should be open to youth of all convictions. The conception of

this league is not as clear cut as some Christian and communistic groups. Much work is now being done to prepare for the world's congress. Its two most active national branches are the *Weltjugendliga* in Germany, which is carrying forward a program of publication and the *Fédération des jeunesses laiques et républicaines de France.*

The third category is made up of those movements which are avowedly Christian in their programs and objectives.

The Catholic Youth International is one of the youngest and largest of international youth movements. In 1921 at Rome a group met to discuss the formation of such a movement, followed by large congresses at the Hague and at Innsbruck, which brought about an international secretariat at Rome. On the occasion of Holy Year in 1925 when many thousands of Roman Catholic young men gathered at Rome the movement was launched. A program of activities has not yet been fully organized. Congresses meet practically biannually in different countries. In 1927 a pilgrimage to Lourdes is arranged for Catholic groups from all over the world with which a world conference will be combined. All the national sections are under the strict authority of the Church.

The total membership is at present more than 2,800,000, with activities of a religious and educational character. Little has been done to develop a recreational or physical program. It has so far abstained from political action although training for citizenship is emphasized.

Inasmuch as the Catholic Youth International is still very young it has little consciousness of its world-wide nature, but the blessing of the Pope upon its delegates during the *Anno Santo* of 1925 has done much to attract attention throughout the Catholic world.

This movement appears to be more in the interest of the Catholic Church itself, more in the nature of a lay church order than a youth movement crusading on social and international issues.

The International Catholic Alliance, a pacifist movement which was founded at Graz in Czecho-Slovakia following the war, has had little influence. The I.K.A., as it is known, also

encourages the use of Esperanto as a solution of the linguistic barrier between races and nations.

Another Catholic Youth movement which is well established is the *Pax Romana,* seeking to unite Catholic youth on the basis of Christian ethics and church dogma.

A movement which has stood out for the quality of its leadership and its spiritual purpose is the Quickborn, an organization of German Catholic youth whose rallying point is allegiance to the Church.

La Jeune République, the outgrowth of *Le Sillion* one of the most significant Christian movements of recent years, under the leadership of Marc Sangnier, has aroused young French Catholics in the interest of democratic Christianity. The social and spiritual ideals of this movement are closely akin to those of the most enlightened and socially minded groups among all churches. Although a Catholic body, its liberalism led the Pope in 1910 to condemn both the movement and Marc Sangnier. This action forced the discontinuance of the religious program, but its social and political work were carried forward. Marc Sangnier, who became a member of the French Parliament, continued his work establishing relationships with pacifist youth-groups in Germany, Austria, England, and other countries. Although these were Catholic youth movements for the most part many other groups have participated and no confessional barriers have been placed in their way.

Conferences held by this group in Paris, Vienna, Freiberg, London, and Luxemburg have been well attended. Young Quakers, Quickborners, and other German youth movement members have been present. Marc Sangnier is one of the outstanding figures which have attempted to bring about a reconciliation between Germany and France. No strongly unified organization was created, but as a movement the Democratic International, as it is known, reaches large groups in many countries, especially through its press work which is of a very high quality. In the summer of 1926 a congress was held at Bierville, near Paris.

In enumerating the youth movements of Europe one cannot overlook the World's Christian Endeavor Union which has

quietly for over two decades carried on a program of religious training and of league conference and pilgrimages of the first order. Newer and more vocal groups sometimes cause unthoughtful people to hail them as the sole expression of youth in a field which may have been occupied for years by more modest and thoroughgoing organizations.

The Young Women's Christian Association has steadily grown in numbers during recent years, strong units being established in many European countries. The quality of its leadership, its varied activities, stabilized by policies tested over four decades of service in widely different countries have equipped this organization for unique service among the young women of Europe.

The Young Men's Christian Association is gaining ground steadily in all phases of its work in Bulgaria, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Greece, Italy, Poland, Rumania, and is maintaining a small work in both Russia and Turkey. The World Conference of the Y.M.C.A. at Helsingfors in the summer of 1926 gave ample proof of the international solidarity and the spiritual vigor of this liberal Christian movement among young men and boys.

The most effective organization of youth in Europe, from the standpoint of accomplishment, has been the national student Christian movements, bound together in the World's Student Christian Federation which was formed at Vadstena, Sweden, in 1895. There were originally five members in the Federation: the Scandinavian University Christian Movement, the German University Christian Alliance, the British College Christian Union, the Student Christian Movement in Mission Lands, and the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association of the United States and Canada. It now comprises twenty-six constituent national and international units and a membership of two hundred thousand.

The objects of the World's Student Christian Federation are:

1. To unite students' Christian movements or organizations throughout the world, and to promote mutual relations among them.

2. To collect and distribute information about the conditions of students in all lands for the religious and other points of view.
3. To promote the following lines of activity:
   a. To lead students to accept the Christian faith in God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, according to the Scriptures and to live as true disciples of Jesus Christ.
   b. To deepen the spiritual life of students and to promote earnest study of the Scriptures among them.
   c. To influence students to devote themselves to the extension of the Kingdom of God in their own nation and throughout the world.
   d. To bring students of all countries into mutual understanding and sympathy, to lead them to realize that the principles of Jesus Christ should rule in international relationships, and to endeavor by so doing to draw the nations together.
   e. To further, either directly or indirectly, those efforts on behalf of the welfare of students in body, mind, and spirit which are in harmony with the Christian purpose.

The Federation is composed of those student organizations which have complied with the following conditions in the constitution:

1. The movement shall comprise a national or international group of unions or associations in universities and colleges.
2. Its aims and work shall be in full harmony with the objects of the Federation as stated above.

The activities of the Federation include international conferences of vast significance, among which are the historic ones held at Williamstown, Massachusetts; Eisenach, Germany; Versailles, Tokyo; Sorrö and Zeist, Germany; Oxford, Constantinople; Mohonk, New York; Peking, China; High Leigh, England, and one in the summer of 1926 in Denmark. Annual student conferences at Swanick, England, and at

Sainte-Croix in France, as well as the conferences of the Student Volunteer Movement which have an immense formative spiritual influence in student life. Retreats, officers' training conferences, and conferences for professors and leaders have characterized the movement.

Publication of books and pamphlets containing biography, books of prayers, Bible study courses, and volumes dealing with social, industrial and political implication of Christianity has been a marked feature of the Federation. To-day the Federation has over 5,000 titles in over twenty languages in circulation. The Chinese Student Christian Movement was the first to devote the entire time of a group of scholars to the production of literature. The Federation itself publishes a magazine, *The Student World,* and over thirty movements bring out their periodicals. In Great Britain, *The Student Movement;* in Australia, *The Australian Intercollegian;* in India, *The Student Movement Review;* the *Ad Lucem* of Finland; the *Fede e Vita* of the Italian Federation; *Le Semeur* of the French Federation; the *Progress* of the Chinese Movement, and *The Intercollegian* of the American movement are among those exercising a wide influence.

The material equipment increases are also an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual life. In 1895 there were only twenty-one buildings throughout the world devoted to Christian Student Movement uses while to-day there are over one hundred such edifices valued at $2,750,000. Hostels have occupied a prominent place in this building program.

A prominent part of the work of the World's Student Christian Federation has been affording hospitality, hostels, and Christian friendship in the centers of student migrations. Prior to 1914, Slavonic students were coming to Swiss universities from Russia and Southeastern Europe to the extent of nearly half the student body, while fourteen thousand Chinese students were in the institutions of higher learning in Tokyo. At present European universities are thronged with students from the entire world. France has over 6,000 chiefly from China, the French Colonies, Russia, and Southeastern Europe; Vienna

has 5,000 and Prague 7,000 from her own and neighboring populations; Great Britain 3,000 chiefly from the Empire; Switzerland 3,000; Germany over 5,000, and Belgium and the Scandinavian countries have several hundred. To these men and women from lands overseas beset with special perils the Christian Student Movement comes as a stabilizing and conserving factor of immense significance.

It was the Great War which placed the World's Christian Student Federation to the acid test and it has the honor of being one of very few international organizations which was not split into fragments. Even the Socialist and Communist organizations cemented together with a powerful class consciousness were shattered by the call to the colors. In the great conflict the Federation found its soul. Thousands of students as prisoners of war in England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Siberia were ministered to through gifts amounting to over $4,000,000 from the students of other lands in which there were organizing and collecting units of the World's Christian Student Federation. Secretaries were sent to these camps, with the permission of all the governments involved, and miniature universities were established with hundreds of classes, religious services, orchestras, reading-rooms, athletics, and manual training, and a vast canteen service with soup, sugar, thread, cloth, and other services was established. It was a ministry of love above the battle, of incalculable magnitude. Conrad Hoffman's book, *In the Prison Camps of Germany,* gives an account of the work in Ruhleben and in other great concentration camps for Allied prisoners and the double volume account of the war activities of the American Y.M.C.A., *Service with Fighting Men,* records the redemptive service in Siberia and other lands.

The prisoner-of-war work of the World's Christian Student Federation pointed the way of relief as a desperate generation of young men and women faced the stark future when the guns ceased firing. Relief was organized and gifts collected throughout the world. In over one hundred centers of learning across Europe clothing, medicines, food, and books were

furnished, either free or at cost price, to over seventy thousand students, a work that persisted until the year 1925, when it was changed into a vast self-help agency, the International Student Service. The Christian movements of thirty-seven different nations, shattered as they were by the war, were the only ones which sustained the shock of the war with strength enough left to carry on a service of reëstablishment to scores of thousands, in the spirit of their watchword, *Ut omnes unum sint.*

Each year since the war numerous conferences have been held, drawing together former antagonists in a new and more powerful spiritual accord. These conferences have been the high spots in European student life since the war. In addition traveling student groups from America and other lands have been conducted on tours throughout the university centers of the Old World, which has done much to develop a new sense of the essential unity which should exist between students the world around.

Most of the Christian student movements, now bound together in the World Student Christian Federation, sprang up outside of the church, but in the nature of the case both find immense resources in each other. In Central Europe these younger Christian groups are looked upon as the chief bulwark against the spirit of materialism. The old allegiance of the church to the state which so often in the past stopped her mouth, her servitude to a militaristic state, lost for her the confidence of thoughtful young men and women. When the break between the church and state did come, it was the state which initiated the change against bitter opposition. One young writer phrased a widespread suspicion of the church: "To give ourselves up to the church, which is estranged from the aspirations of the younger generation, would be a betrayal of ourselves; but to turn our back upon her is to betray the ideals and history of our people."

In Germany, Christian youth has begun a crusade against immoral literature, pictures, and movies, and with a strengthening of the coöperative and federative idea it is impossible for them to avoid collaboration and contact with the church itself.

A few traits are characteristic of nearly all of the present youth movements.

They are in opposition to the old cultural ideals which have governed society and the church. The optimism of a pre-war generation has been replaced by a deeply skeptical attitude toward all cultural values which are materialistic and soul-destroying.

Love of nature has taken the place of love of culture. Its creative power is filling the young with a new conception of the universe, bordering on romanticism and mysticism. Youth repudiates the separation of body and spirit made by idealists and protests against the depreciation of nature in man. This sometimes leads to a new paganism, but also to a new and gratifying acceptance of the place of nature in the life of the soul and to a feeling of unity within life.

New forms of an ethical idealism are making their way in the youth movements. A deeper feeling of responsibility is creating dreams of a better social order in which drink, moral uncleanness, and even smoking shall find no place. A new sex ethics is deliberately, but not always successfully, making its way. The youth movements are an attempt to reconstruct life upon a basis of personal liberty and common responsibility.

A widespread wistfulness is abroad among many thoughtful young men and women. The Christian experience of sin is void of meaning for the larger part of these self-conscious groups, and pantheism is much nearer to their hearts than Christian theism. Against the soberness and plainness of the Protestant service, the symbolism of the Catholic cult awakens an answering response. Protestant individualism is felt to be opposed to the feeling of fellowship which animates them. At present this pantheistic feeling is passing through a crisis. Youth begins to feel that it has not seriously encountered the religious problem. Although they have sought to escape it, they find that most serious queries lead back to God. As they are confronted more and more with the needs of life, with the demoniac forces of nature itself which they are unable to master, they have necessarily entered into those religious realms in which the souls of men and women find the abiding spiritual

realities. Christ and the Cross seem all that is lacking to make many of these searching young men and women mighty factors in the redemption of European life.

The different university ideals exert a powerful influence upon educated youth and have a direct reaction upon the church for good or ill. The Germans have considered the university as the "castle of pure science." Practical considerations play a small part in the effort made to acquire assured and solid knowledge. Such an idea brings liberty in pursuing problems in full intellectual independence. The supervision of the state for them means the protection of absolute liberty for research which is not so easily attained where private or confessional influences dominate. This university ideal is passing through a crisis, owing to the contrast between science and experience which has become more sharply marked in modern times.

The English university ideal differs somewhat from this type, the character building qualities being more emphasized than on the Continent. It has been humorously remarked that Oxford teaches an English gentleman how to be an English gentleman. Social education for community life is more stressed in English universities than in any other European centers of learning.

The French ideal has been formulated by the church. Paris, founded in 1150, was, with the exception of Bologna, the oldest university in Europe and was of course controlled by the church. The Revolution brought the modern transformation. Napoleon created an Imperial University where the control of the church was replaced by that of the state whose functionaries watched the fidelity of the teaching and learning bodies to the church and to the Emperor. When the rationalist and critical spirit of the modern world made its entry, absolute independence became an integral part of the French university ideal. The passion of the French genius, rational penetration of the facts and clear ideas, is a dominant element in French university life.

The Italian university participates to-day in the rebirth of the national ideal which characterizes modern Italy. Practical

considerations play a much greater rôle in Italian universities than elsewhere.

It is difficult to speak of the definite ideals of the Slav universities. Their institutions prepare young men and women for the service of their countries. In the young Slav states everything is in development, a new universalism is springing up not only because the Slav states are cultivating international relationships because they need them, but also because the ideal of brotherliness is inherent in the *Weltanschauung* of the Slav race. In Russia the old intelligentsia had close contact with the people.

Conditions in Russian university life are still in turmoil. More than 12,000 emigrant students are living in university centers throughout the world, mostly in Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia, but also in Paris, Berlin, and in the colleges of America. The situation of the student, both within and without Russia, would be desperate did they not possess an unusual capacity to suffer long and patiently for their ideals.

The Hungarian university is the strongest spiritualized expression of the vitality of a nation. It has, therefore, an aristocratic character formed on the basis of an historic cultural tradition strongly influenced by Catholic ideals on one side, and by Calvinist theology on the other. A certain isolation is unavoidable where a people has to learn the great world languages as foreign tongues, for the native Magyar is only spoken by a few thousands beyond the confines of the old Hungarian state.

An exchange of views on these national ideals of university life took place in Elmau, Germany, in 1924, where delegates from twenty-eight countries discussed the problem of the modern university. They unanimously deplored the transformation of the university into a school for specific or vocational training and claimed that it should be an institution where youth is educated to become a responsible personality in the service of mankind guided by timeless values. Ideals and not alone practical considerations should dominate university studies kept free from political and nationalistic influences. A university should be a school of higher internationalism which

does not mean that the character and aims of each nation should be neglected. International understanding is to-day being furthered by a frequent exchange of professors and students from the different countries.

Dr. Schairer of the German Student Christian Movement and Conrad Hoffman of the World's Student Christian Federation published in Leipzig in 1925 an informative volume on the university ideals of the Old World entitled *Universitätsideale der Kulturvölker.*

There is no doubt that youth is taking an important part in building up a new international understanding. In this respect the European Student Relief of the World's Christian Student Federation has opened new channels of understanding and has revolutionized many international relationships, thereby saving thousands from national selfishness and international ignorance.

The churches of every nation face the serious task of arresting the attention and commanding the energies of their most imaginative and potential youth, and, correspondingly, youth must vindicate its claims to power by the strength of its dedications to the spiritual ideals of which the church has been guardian in every age.

Chapter VIII

THE PROBLEM OF THE NATURE OF CONTINENTAL CHURCHES

The European church of to-day not only has manifold problems, but has become in itself a problem of the first magnitude. In the past the church has been an institution recognized by governments and peoples, including either the whole population or a body of declared members. The state, by disestablishing the church, either ignores it or gives it only a qualified financial assistance. Many are avowedly alienated from church life, and the fiction of a people's church including the great bulk of the nation can no longer be maintained.

Within the church itself different conceptions as to its nature and functions are the center of discussion. In England, the prevailing idea has always been that the church is the body of Christ, a sacred institution dating from apostolic times. Since Schleiermacher, the conception on the Continent has been that the church is a free association of believers who unite for spiritual purposes and fellowship in the life of faith. Church life throughout the last century has been characterized by the contrast between these two conceptions.

The conception of the church as an independent association of believers for purely spiritual ends has been strengthened on the Continent by the fact that the Inner Mission work, especially in Germany, has been developed separately from the church. This procedure has failed to achieve that sense of the unity of religion with the whole of life which has been characteristic in Western churches where such social work is an integral part of the church life. Wichern made a strong appeal to the German church to begin this work, but in his day the church and the Inner Mission could not find each other. The result was much overlapping and a certain antagonism,

since the Inner Mission occasionally assumed the function of a church. Progressive forces were found in these free associations in a greater intensity than in the official churches, which were often too timid to take their stand upon a more ample social platform.

The conception of the church as a free association has prevailed in those countries where the church had been disestablished, as in France. In such circumstances the church perforce organized itself into a religious association in order to be recognized by the government. The state, being a purely secular organization, has found difficulty in recognizing the church as a mystical or divinely established institution, but can give validity to it as a legally organized human association dealing with religion.

European traditions and conditions make it difficult to establish entirely independent religious associations within a nation without some connection with the government. The idea of a *corpus christianorum,* of a cultural unity between the whole nation organized as the state and the religious people organized as the church, is deeply rooted in the mind of Continental peoples.

The problem to-day is, therefore, how can the church best collaborate with the state in the general cultural, humanitarian and ethical tasks with which both are concerned and how the state can recognize the value of those ethical and spiritual influences flowing from the church into public life.

But the main difficulty in this respect is not to be found in the relations between church and state, but in the church itself. Disestablishment has compelled the church to build anew upon a more democratic basis. A number of churches, as in Austria, Poland, Jugoslavia, have been unable to elect their officers and complete their organization and are uncertain as to whether they will adopt the Episcopal or an even more democratic system, whether the church will remain the people's church, including all baptized inhabitants, or a church of declared members which does missionary work among non-members.

The gravest problem lies in the fact that many Christians are in doubt as to the usefulness of the church *qua* church in

our day. A former theologian, Richard Rothe, remarked that the church has the task of rendering itself superfluous and of christianizing the state and the people to such an extent that the church itself is no longer needed. Kutter in Switzerland, under the influence of Blumhardt, holds a similar view and predicts the disappearance of churches in the coming in of that ampler social and spiritual order known to believers as the Kingdom of God.

A variety of causes have coincided to compel the churches to reëxamine their purposes and activities. Much of the former work of the church in educational and social fields has become secularized and has lost its identity with the church. A large number of Christian people are antagonistic to organized religion. The church is criticized not only for its relationship to the state, but also for its lack of influence upon the people, the predominance of priestly and ministerial influence, the absence of spirituality and for its pretension to represent the body of Christ in a visible and organized form. This opposition has cropped out in certain irreligious youth movements which have accused the church of betraying the highest spiritual values to worldly ends.

The newest theological movement of the school around Professor Karl Barth instils a measure of skepticism into all constructive efforts of the church and urges believers to build a new organization similar to Congregationalism, beginning with the parish. The church is accused of being more interested in social activity than in the preaching of the Gospel, but nevertheless is considered a necessary condition for social salvation, not as a cultural element, nor as an institution for social improvements, but as a spiritual body whose main task is to uphold spiritual values before a materialistic world. Neither the national churches nor the free churches can by themselves suffice for this task. The church has become a problem in herself and the major social and evangelistic impulses of recent years have been paralyzed by this deep ecclesiastical pessimism. Even Tröltsch declared that the end of the church was near. Mennicke holds that the church as organized religion will never again come to life unless it proves its conviction as to timeless

spiritual values by an unfrightened sincerity and boundless good-will. This skepticism is only partly a result of war psychology; it is also a sign of that spiritual unrest which is the condition of new life.

In certain churches on the Continent a rejuvenation of church life is found in a High Church influence which lays emphasis upon institutional and sacramental characteristics and is introducing the treasures of old Catholic and Anglican liturgies. The Swedish churches and a German group are leading in this movement. In Germany a great movement of free associations is attempting to build up a new communion with declared believers assembling as *"ecclesiolæ"* within the church without giving up membership. In Holland a new type of church has been built up by the former Premier Kuyper, who renewed the old theocratic ideal of the Calvinist conception of the church and has gained social and political influence.

In the new demand for a higher conception of the place of the Christian church in our modern world, churches of a closer and more exclusive kind are proving more attractive than the broader and less exacting bodies.

Chapter IX

CHURCH *VERSUS* STATE

The problem of the relations between church and state in Europe has afflicted politicians and priests for many generations. One of the gravest shocks which came to the cultural life of post-war Europe was the wholesale disestablishment of national churches throughout the defeated countries and in the Danube Basin. The situation to-day is a direct reflection of historical attitudes held by the two main branches of the Protestant Church in Europe, Lutheranism and Calvinism.

Luther left the organization of the church visible with the worldly government. The followers of Calvinism, in not a few instances, occupied themselves with the creation of free churches. Political power in Europe has been so predominant that only in exceptional cases could any church escape control and supervision by the state.

The nature of the church, its function and its structure, has never been clearly defined in most Continental countries. The national churches have lived on an ecclesiastical traditionalism and have carefully avoided discussion on the principle that it is better to let sleeping dogs lie. They have hesitated to accept the ampler social outlook of the Christian thought of a later day, which demands an unfettered church and the application of the Gospel to the whole of life.

The church is a recent problem in Continental Protestantism, but of late it has become a burning question, especially in Lutheran countries, where legislation following the war compelled churches to organize themselves independently. Throughout Europe an effort is being made to find the fundamental evangelical idea of the church and to describe its specific action. The same need was not felt to so great a degree in Calvinistic Protestantism, where the church was already organized on

democratic principles; or in England, where for centuries much thought had been given to the nature and the purpose of the church.

Gaston Frommel remarked in 1891 in Geneva that three forces were moving the church towards far ends: first, religious autonomy; second, the Christocentric conviction that Christ is the Head of the Church; third, the desire for unity, for a Christian catholicity. Recent developments indicate the truth of his statement.

The principle of disestablishment is making its way nearly everywhere in Europe, accompanied by financial difficulties which are nearly insurmountable in a period of an economic crisis. It is, however, bringing emancipation and spiritual autonomy.

The second tendency is expressing itself more distinctly, since the head of the state is no more considered as *summus episcopus,* the head of the church. In a living church it is natural that this supreme office cannot be given to any other than Christ, not even to a confession of faith.

What about Frommel's third observation, that the church was being moved by a desire for unity? The Ecumenical Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm in 1925 was a powerful expression of this ultimate ideal in the great majority of Continental churches. It may be that the Anglo-American communions must take the lead in this uncertainty, with their longer experience in free church life, in the same way that Continental theologians may have the task of working out specific theological problems. Western churches have been less hampered by state interference in the development of their spiritual and social activities. Many European churches see in them the greatest power of Christendom and do not hesitate to add that with the power and the ability goes the added responsibility.

The conviction is growing among European statesmen and ecclesiastics that the church is neither a department of the state, nor a mere society, nor a legal organism, but a spiritual creation with definite tasks. On the way to the realization of this ideal, the church is confronted with a series of problems.

THE MONUMENT TO LUTHER AT STUTTGART

THE CENTRAL PANEL OF THE MONUMENT TO THE REFORMATION AT GENEVA

The figures are (left to right) Farel, Calvin, Beza, Knox

The relationship between church and state in Europe is often misunderstood and misrepresented in Western churches which are enjoying the greatest independence from state supervision. It is not to be understood without a clear insight into the historical development of this relationship. In the Middle Ages the church of a country was the king's church. Church and people were an indissoluble unit. The Reformation found this situation and it was hoped that the new ideas would embrace the whole of Christianity and transform it into a new spiritual or ecclesiastical unit. By the resistance of the Emperor Charles V against the new movement, the Reformation was confined to those countries whose princes were sympathetic to the Gospel. They became naturally the Lords Protectors of the Reformation. Without their help and continuous protection the fire would have been quenched, as it was in Austria where the princes succeeded in suppressing the spiritual movement and in preventing the organization of an Evangelical church.

For the reformers, the state was based on divine authority in the same manner as the church. This conception remained longer and was more emphasized in the Lutheran churches than in the Reformed world, where the persecuted churches, especially in England and France, early learned to discriminate between obedience to the state and obedience to divine law. This different attitude towards the state between the Lutheran and the Reformed conception must be kept in mind to understand the Lutheran attitude toward war. Luther had written a pamphlet on the question, whether soldiers can fight with a good Christian conscience. Lutheranism distinguished between war and revolt, between a war of conquest and a defensive war. Genuine Lutheranism was therefore always in sharp opposition to the Anabaptists, who repudiated war categorically, refused to believe in the divine authority of the state, and imposed upon the Christian conscience the obligation to refrain from war. The difference between the antimilitarist tendencies in the Western churches and the general attitude in Lutheran countries toward war is the natural consequence of a different conception of the nature of the state. According to

Lutheran understanding, the state has a nearly mystical religious value based on divine authority. According to the Anabaptist conceptions prevailing in most Calvinistic countries, the state has a more utilitarian character and is organized only by common understanding for the pursuance of common worldly and civil aims.

The princes of Germany, in accepting the Evangelical faith, took their whole people with them and formed the state church on the principle, *cujus regio illius religio.* The other-worldliness of the young Evangelicals in Lutheran countries, their hesitancy to mingle with worldly and state affairs, the lack of an organic and established ecclesiastical authority, prevented them from building up a free church with their own means on either a democratic or an aristocratic basis. In this embarrassing situation a way of escape was found in Lutheran countries in the formula that the prince or the king was considered as *summus episcopus* of the church and as the legal successor of the former ecclesiastical authority. It was an emergency solution which remained in force until the recent post-war revolutions. All power which was necessary for the outer organization of the church on a legal basis was transferred to the king or the prince, who exerted it by his nomination of an official consistory invested with royal rights.

When therefore Kaiser Wilhelm II, King of Prussia, abdicated, the church of Prussia lost its supreme bishop and was embarrassed as to where to find the legal power for reorganizing itself. The principle of this supremacy was so generally acknowledged that in Austria before the war the small Evangelical church was not able to organize itself, but was compelled to receive permission from the Emperor, who, although a Roman Catholic, nominated the President of the Evangelical Consistory, which in turn legally represented his supremacy in the secular affairs of the church. The last Austrian emperor exerted his supremacy with much delicacy. In other Catholic countries, the state did not shrink from imposing on the Evangelical Church many humiliating conditions. In Spain it was forbidden to build an Evangelical church facing the street, or to make it known to the public by an inscription, or to have a

steeple, or to ring a bell. Only in recent years has permission been given to hold services in a hidden courtyard. Advertisements of meetings have been prohibited. The state, "the coldest of all cold monsters" as Nietzsche called it, assumed thus the right to exert full supervision over ecclesiastical affairs and to set up an unlimited authority in all matters concerning the outer organization of the church.

In Reformed countries the prince never exercised the same authority in church affairs, although the churches recognized the duty of Christians to obey the secular authority. The sphere of the state was the civil power and the sword. The sphere of the church was the Word and the Spirit. Nevertheless, the state authority became the ecclesiastical authority under the assumption that church and state are two social manifestations of one and the same Christian people—an idea very dear to Zwingli's heart. The church was therefore less the "state church" than the "people's church" and was governed according to the aristocratic or democratic principles of the several states. In many countries the pastor was considered more as an administrative officer of the state than as a spiritual guide of his flock. This supremacy of the state was not so intolerable as it may seem, as long as the assumption prevailed that the whole people was a Christian people with a Christian government.

Protestants found that the Bible taught them submission to the state authority. They had to endure much injustice and persecution from the state until they dared to believe in the right of Christians to revolt against the secular power and to raise the "cry of the people" against the tyrants. This independence grew earlier and more quickly in France and England than elsewhere.

Until the beginning of this century, in nearly all Continental countries and to some extent in Great Britain, an official and legal relationship between church and state was in existence. Even to-day in certain states, as in the North, free churches have no legal basis and the direction of the church is in the hands of the State Department for Cults and Education.

When the fiction of a Christian state disappeared, the state

—at least in the West—exerted its supervision with more and more discretion and abstained from interfering with the religious life of the church. The modern state became religiously neutral and confined its supremacy over the church to guaranteeing religious liberty, maintaining law and order, determining the relations of the church with the state and society, and in overseeing the administration of the church and its educational institutions. Because at the time of the Reformation the state had confiscated the property of former Catholic churches and monasteries it felt financially responsible for the church and religious education.

The relationship between church and state became an acute problem when, after the war, disestablishment was introduced. Although the situation differs in each country, nevertheless some general observations may be made on the motives, the conditions, and the consequences of disestablishment in general.

The separation of church from state is less due to hostility on the part of the government, or to a desire for disestablishment expressed by the church, than to the logical consequence of the religious neutrality of the state. In some countries, however, hostility was shown by socialist and atheist parties who wished to kill the church. The first socialist Minister of Cults in Germany and other members of German governments, following the Russian example, aimed avowedly at destruction of the church, refusing financial assistance and furthering a movement among socialists to leave the church. In effect, this attack strengthened the love for the church and brought about even a certain amount of coöperation between the Evangelical and Catholic Churches against the common enemy.

In general, the state recognized the value of spiritual liberty and of religious education, and, even after disestablishment, it participated in raising the expenses of the church, as, for instance, in Germany, Switzerland, Hungary, and Poland.

In some of the countries disestablishment was carried through, not alone by the socialist party, which stands for it, but by an alliance between radical atheist socialism and political Catholic parties.

The Catholic Church suffered financially under the shock of

a separation to the same extent as did the Protestant churches. In Germany it was partly due to Catholic influence that the state continued to contribute to church expenses. The disestablished churches had before the separation generally borne the greater part of the financial load, to which the state had contributed in the same way as it had supported other cultural institutions of the country; nevertheless the necessity of building up a sound financial structure in a time of economic crisis meant a serious obstacle in the development of free churches.

The immediate result of disestablishment was not the disruption of former state churches into a number of free churches, but the organization of a people's church, including the majority of the Protestant *bloc* of the different countries. These disestablished people's churches were not built on free individual acceptance of a declaration of faith by their members, but on the presumption that the people wished to continue their historic religious tradition and to remain together. The fundamental principle of such a people's or national church was not a dogmatic confession, but an ideal of practical cooperation in religious work, a common feeling of historic continuity of faith, an ideal of religious liberty for single groups and individuals of different religious conceptions within one and the same church, based on mutual tolerance.

The modern state has, in principle, accepted the formula of Cavour: *Chiesa libera in Stato libero,* a free church in a free state. But the basis on which it placed the church after disestablishment is quite different in the single countries. In some of them the state shows a sympathetic understanding for the moral and religious tasks of the church. In others it refuses even after separation to grant the church the right to tax members or to become a legal corporation, and places it on the same basis as any other association.

There is no doubt that the separation of church and state corresponds to a growing desire among Christian people and has already deepened the spiritual life of the churches wherever disestablishment took place. There is, however, a certain antagonism, especially in Lutheran countries, between those who desire peaceful coöperation in all matters of public welfare and

religious education and those—especially in the younger generation—who contemplate with suspicion any connection of the church with the modern state. One of these younger theologians, Thurneysen, says that even a friendly attitude of the church towards the state is a betrayal of Christian principle and that the state is that symbol of the world which is the strongest contrast to the Kingdom of Christ. In Lutheran quarters, the state is not considered as an unholy thing; its activities are rather to be harmoniously supplementary. The church, however, feels bound to approach political activity with caution and reserve. The primary business of the church is to inspire, to supply the highest motive power, to take care that God is not forgotten. A "Christian political policy" is therefore contemplated with skepticism and mistrust. In large sections of German thought the treaties of Locarno and the Church of Christ were held to be exclusive contrasts.

The present opposites are no more represented by the state church on one side and the independent church on the other. The contrast to-day is rather between the free or the people's church on the one side and, on the other, the free *confessional* church based exclusively on voluntary membership and on a confession of faith.

Although disestablishment has been tantamount to an entire rejection of Christianity in the eyes of many in Europe, the experience of nearly every country where church has been separated from state in the past has proven beneficial to the spiritual life of the people.

Chapter X

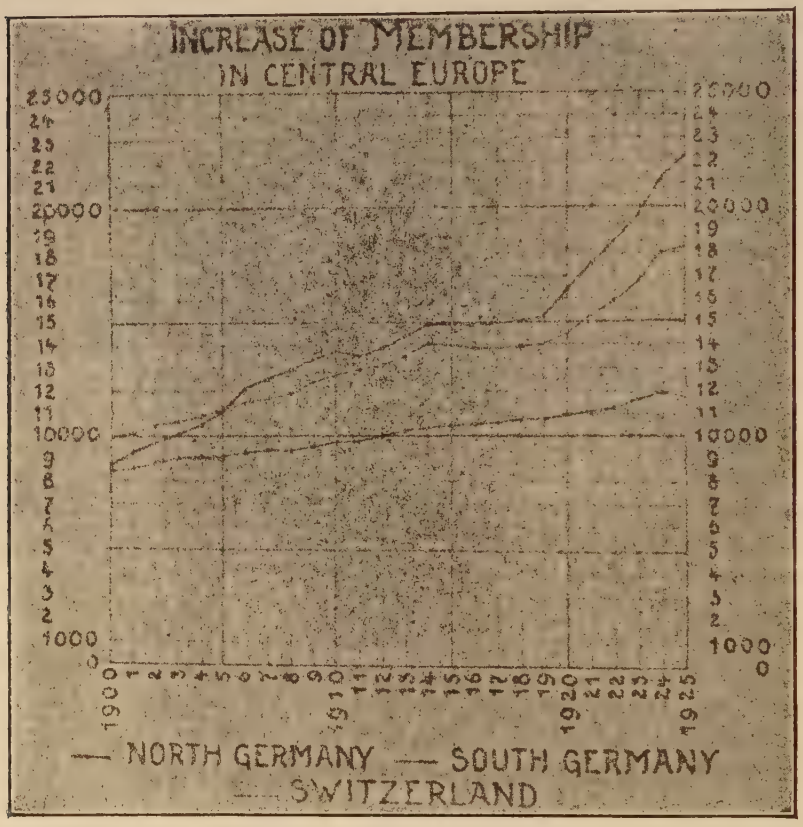
THE FREE CHURCHES OF EUROPE

As the old state or national churches, by their disestablishment, have themselves become more or less free or people's churches, the term Free Church has changed its meaning. The term is used here to designate those churches which were not connected directly with the history of the Reformed movement or which are living and working without being related to the official national churches. The Free churches have special problems of their own in contra-distinction to the people's or state church.

Those Free churches have a double origin: either they are the offspring of the old revolutionary Anabaptist, Independent, and Moravian movements, which have always protested against the supremacy of the state in religious matters, or they are missionary projects standing for a certain religious or ecclesiastical ideal and were born either out of missionary zeal of foreign groups or were propagated by the migration of religious ideals which succeeded in winning disciples within the old national churches.

The Free churches present a new problem for the old national churches and in general for the religious relationship between America and Europe. Some American churches, such as the Methodists, Baptists, Adventists, Evangelical Association, which came originally from Germany, Congregationalists, and Christian Scientists, penetrated nearly everywhere on the Continent and by a vigorous propaganda won small bodies of adherents. Seen as a whole, they form small but very active religious minorities. These missionary groups occupy strategic centers, generally in the larger places, and begin their work within the membership of the national churches and among the religiously indifferent. The older churches here and there espe-

cially in Western and Central Europe, look upon this work as a disintegrating influence and object to these efforts to win adherents from their membership. In the East, where large



GRAPH SHOWING THE INCREASE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH IN EUROPE

areas need evangelization and the building up of all kinds of social and Inner Mission work, the same objection is raised by the Orthodox churches, which do not wish to be considered as a mission field. Delegates of these churches made a special appeal to the American delegates at Stockholm not to contribute to the disruption of the Eastern Church by missionary propaganda.

Another difficulty arises from the fact that missionary

churches, not knowing the psychology and history of the European nations, are compelled to choose evangelists and other workers from the nation in which they are working because of the language barrier. Recruiting for the ministry is difficult even for the national churches and it is not always possible for foreign agencies to discover adequately qualified men for their work. Time and money are sometimes wasted in enterprises which are not always considered as an urgent need by the older struggling national churches. The older churches hold that the religious life of a people is closely connected with its history and cannot be quickly changed without damaging certain valuable elements in the national and religious traditions, rightly asserting that if the religious divisions in English and American Protestantism should be perpetrated on the Continent, they would only add to the prevailing ecclesiastical confusion.

These considerations have produced a certain tension between the national churches and the newer missionary agencies. The latter have shown a more aggressive spirit in evangelistic and social activity than the national churches or the old Independent or Anabaptist groups, which have, since the time of the Reformation, stood in opposition to the ideals of the state church but have led a more or less quiet and hidden spiritual life.

The Free churches must be credited with a power in spiritual life and sacrifice which far exceeds their numerical strength. In Germany the four Free organizations have not more than 618 parishes, with 132,500 members, in a total population of 60 millions, of whom 39 millions are Protestant. Nevertheless, they are centers of religious influence and social activity, to which is due their growing recognition by the older churches and by the government. Such little groups of convinced followers of Christ often accomplish more than multitudes of nominal Christians.

Disestablishment in different countries has led to a new status for the Free churches. In the Western and Central states they enjoy the same rights as the national churches. In Switzerland and France, for instance, the Free groups entered

into the national federation of Protestant churches. In the North, both public opinion and the law are slow in granting them the same rights which the national churches possess, as in Prussia and in some of the Scandinavian states. The Eastern states, especially Poland, Jugoslavia, Rumania, and Russia, following the example of the former Austrian monarchy, while granting religious liberty to the national Protestant churches of the Lutheran or Reformed type, are still putting difficulties in the way of the Free churches or even denying full religious tolerance.

The situation of the Free churches, in spite of their heroic sacrifices and the financial help from abroad, is critical. The financial burden, including the recruiting of new workers, the provision for new buildings for growing parishes, the care of the old and infirm, and the expense of supervision, puts a heavy load on the shoulders of small minorities in impoverished areas replete with social, religious, and political prejudices. Where they have won their way to a position of strength and prominence, they have often fallen victim to the same maladies which they deplore in the national churches.

The following have been suggested as bases for mutual understanding and helpfulness:

(1) That the national churches recognize the spiritual value, the independence, and unrestricted activity of the Free churches in their midst and receive them into their federation, if this is desired.

(2) That this presupposes that the Free churches do not consider the people's church as an unoccupied mission field, but as a different type of church with a special mission in each country based on the religious history and mentality of the people.

(3) That a careful study and preliminary agreement between the different types of churches is desirable wherever the churches feel confronted with new tasks, as is already the case on the mission field in Asia and Africa.

(4) That the Free churches may see their obligation towards the national churches in stimulating the spiritual life

of these older and larger bodies by methods of evangelization and fellowship which have been tested in smaller groups.

(5) That the two bodies coöperate in the common struggle against unbelief and materialism, in social work, and in the evangelization of areas where the smaller national churches are not able to accomplish the whole task, as in Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Italy, and Russia.

In order to visualize the work and spread of the Free churches on the Continent, it will be of value to scrutinize the condition of typical groups. The Methodists, and the Baptists, the Moravians, and the Evangelical Association serve as useful examples of Christian people who found national churches insufficient to meet their spiritual needs.

Methodism in Continental Europe

England is the homeland of Methodism, but, with the exception of France and Italy, where English Methodism has taken root, and Germany, where it made a beginning but later turned its work over to Americans, Continental Methodism is an offshoot from America. It is of comparatively recent origin, the first American preacher beginning his activity in Europe in 1849.

American Methodism was transplanted not only to the Roman Catholic countries of Europe and to the Eastern Orthodox countries, but also to nations which are predominantly Protestant, to lands which were the home of the Protestant Reformation and are to-day the stronghold of Protestantism, including Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and the Baltic Republics.

Viewed in its historic perspective, we find Methodism in Europe the result of the reverse current of European emigration to America. European churches were unable to provide adequately for the spiritual needs of the emigrants. American Methodism, while not doing organized work among the German settlers in Pennsylvania and New York, attracted many Germans, and Methodist converts became the founders of the

two American churches that, with the Lutheran Church, worked particularly among German immigrants.

In the eighteenth century there was no reverse movement, inasmuch as the emigrants were completely cut off from their homelands.

The second wave of European emigration which set in imme-

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF METHODIST CENTERS IN EUROPE

diately after the Napoleonic wars reached its climax towards the middle of the nineteenth century. Again the European churches lost touch with the emigrants, many of whom found their way to Methodist altars. These men were imbued with the evangelistic spirit of Methodism; they longed to testify to their kinsmen of their own religious experience, and this led to the establishment of German and Scandinavian missions in America and later to the organization of German and Scandinavian churches and conferences, including schools, literature, hospitals, and orphanages, to be followed in course of time by organized work among Italians, Slavs, and immigrants from other European nations.

The movement of vast numbers of emigrants to America in the middle of the nineteenth century coincided with a deplorable state of spiritual life among the churches of the Old World. Pietism was no longer a vitalizing power. The religious revival manifested at the beginning of the century had spent its force, the revival of the closing decades of the century had not yet begun. In Scandinavian countries the mission movement was in its beginnings. Hence the message of Methodism was as new and as fresh as when preached a century previously by Wesley in England and two centuries previously by the Pietists of Germany. Spontaneous personal testimony was the means of establishing Methodist classes. Organization into churches marks the second stage. The spread of Methodism in Europe is not due to ecclesiastical strategy or denominational imperialism; the history of nearly every local society reveals personal contacts with emigrants from that locality.

Methodism has never considered the Protestant churches of Europe as "mission fields" in the same class with pagan and Mohammedan countries. It is true, the administration of the work rests with the Board of Foreign Missions, but this is merely a technical term,—the work in America being administered by the Board of Home Missions, the work in countries outside the United States by the Board of Foreign Missions. The men sent to the Protestant countries of Europe during the initial period, in response to urgent calls, were natives of those countries,—emigrants, some of them Catholics who were converted in America and had returned to their fatherland. In the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox countries, work has been directed by American missionaries, but in the Protestant countries the church has been built up by nationals. There is now no American citizen at work in any German or Scandinavian country except the bishop in charge of Central Europe —and he is the son of one of the founders of German Methodism. The bishop in charge of the work in Scandinavia is a Danish national. The financial support which Methodism in the Protestant countries has received from America has never been large. Since the war liberal amounts have been contributed, but mainly not for specific church work but for

various forms of relief work which is not limited to the Methodist household.

The beginning and the growth of Methodism in Continental Europe are due to its emphasis upon certain phases of Christian faith and life: to the joyfulness of its message, to the stress laid on the laymen's activities, to its church discipline, and to the feeling of solidarity which small bodies found in belonging to a world-wide organization.

While the Methodist Church in America has eight million members, and in Great Britain 900,000, it is a *diaspora* church on the Continent, uniting small groups in nearly every country under the supervision of three bishops. Methodism has a separate history in each country. It frequently underwent serious persecutions, and even to-day it does not enjoy in all countries the same legal rights as the other Evangelical churches. Nevertheless, it has won a place of esteem in Continental church life, although its more emotional methods of presentation differ strongly from the austerity of Calvinism and the doctrinal rigidity of certain Lutheran churches. Methodism, by insisting upon the essentials of experimental practical religion, her indifference towards externals and non-essentials, her readiness to coöperate with all other Christians in every good work, tries to further the unifying influence in the religious life of a nation. It stands for the principle of absolute religious liberty and its organization is built exclusively on the free will of its members with regard to membership as well as financial support and personal activity. It stands for the universal priesthood of all believers and knows of no sacerdotal discrimination between clergy and laity. It gives to its members a world vision and world contacts, and trains them in world service.

In 1923 the membership in each of the three areas was as follows:

I. *Copenhagen area* (Bishop Bast)	*Members*	*Preachers*
1. Denmark	4,575	41
2. Baltic States	2,712	32
3. Finland	3,073	35
4. Norway	7,553	61
5. Sweden	16,517	150

		Members	Preachers
II.	*Paris area* (Bishop Blake)		
6.	France and Spain	1,150	21
7.	Italy	4,231	49
III.	*Zurich area* (Bishop Nuelsen)		
8.	Austria	1,031	8
9.	Bulgaria	900	15
10.	Germany	36,343	202
11.	Hungary	570	8
12.	Jugoslavia	1,306	10
13.	Russia	500	6
14.	Switzerland	11,637	62
		92,098	700

The social work of Methodism on the Continent includes 2 theological high schools, 6 theological seminaries, 34 children's homes, 9 orphanages, 14 schools, 6 homes for young people, 4 homes for old people, 7 rest homes, 17 deaconess hospitals, 30 deaconess homes, 7 deaconess rest homes, 1 home for students, 2 homes for sailors, 14 book concerns, and 7 homes for rescue work of the Central Mission of Scandinavia.

The Baptist Movement on the Continent

In the year of Waterloo, 1815, there was no Baptist church to be found in the whole of Europe, but by the year 1850 there were about 4,000 church members. By 1900 the number had increased to approximately 220,000. For the present day no exact figures can be had, owing to the fact that the number of Baptists in Russia, probably the largest single group, is unknown, although there is reason to believe that it would raise the number of Baptists to considerably above two millions. This advance of a single denomination on the Continent within three generations may be partly attributed to what has been a working principle of the Continental Baptists from the outset: "Every member a missionary."

The beginnings and spread of the Baptist movement on the Continent is closely allied with the person of J. G. Oncken, known in Britain as the "Father of the German Baptists" (1800-1884). The Baptist movement in nearly every country

on the Continent is indebted to him. As a boy he was taken to Scotland and England by a Scotch merchant and brought into intimate contact with the intense religious life of the dissenting churches. In 1823 he returned to Germany, settling in Hamburg. At this time he was not a Baptist, although he had some doubts about infant baptism. He was baptized in the Elbe in 1834, together with his wife and five other companions, by Professor Sears of Hamilton College, who came over from America especially for this purpose. The day following the baptism Professor Sears formally constituted the first German Baptist church, at Hamburg, with Oncken as its pastor. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities were not slow in adopting stern measures against these "sectarians" and encouraged or at least tolerated several mob attacks. This is the early history of the Baptist movement in every country of the Continent, without exception. In the eastern parts of Europe this deplorable state of affairs came to an end only after the close of the World War.

Up to the revolutionary movement which swept most European countries in the late forties, legislation practically prohibited separation from the established state church. Infant baptism was a civil as well as an ecclesiastical act. Thus Baptists were bound to clash with the authorities of both church and state.

Oncken, together with his two closest associates, J. Köbner, of Danish birth, and G. W. Lehmann, was the organizer of the Baptist movement and the Baptist Church in Germany. Following the constitutional changes of 1848 granting religious freedom, the first union meeting, representing the work in Germany and Denmark, was held in 1849. It was decided that the various associations should meet yearly, and the union every three years. This plan is followed until the present day.

The four great centers of Baptist development in Germany are Berlin, Hamburg, Königsberg, and Barmen in Westphalia. While in 1863 there were a few more than 11,000 members, the statistics for the year 1922 show 245 churches, 390 ministers, 55,770 members, and 31,500 Sunday school pupils. A

theological seminary, offering a four years' course, was opened in Hamburg in 1880, accommodating over one hundred students.

The Baptist movement is growing steadily in what was formerly the Baltic provinces. In Esthonia there is a seminary, a vigorous work among prisoners and lepers, and a growing number of local churches. In 1925 over 400 baptisms were reported. Latvia also has a seminary and a modern teachers' training school. In Lithuania there is a church membership of over 10,000, with a national union embracing Lithuanian, German, Lettish, and Russian groups, carrying forward a vigorous *colporteur* work and establishing churches and Sunday schools.

In Switzerland the first Baptist church was organized in 1847. At present there are in German-speaking Switzerland eight churches with 1,105 members, in close relationship with the German Union, and in the French-speaking part there are four churches with about 400 members.

In Austria the Baptists were compelled to go under the name of other associations. As recently as 1917 a disguised Baptist association was legally dissolved as it was "suspected of working for the cause of the repeatedly forbidden Baptist Church." Complete freedom, after the collapse of the monarchy, came mainly as a result of the "minority clauses" of the Peace Treaty, so that the Baptists now are able to undertake open-air preaching. In 1922 they dedicated the first chapel built in Austria, at Trenitz, near Vienna.

The Baptists in Holland have 30 churches with 2,693 members and 3,220 Sunday school pupils. Nearly all the churches are now united in the Dutch Baptist Union, which was founded in 1881. The Baptist movement in Holland came into existence mainly through British influences, and the personal influence of Oncken.

In what is now Poland, the Baptist movement before the Polish restoration was practically confined to the German minority. Only since the restoration has there been a genuine Polish Baptist movement. Several separate Polish churches are now in existence, and in 1922 there were 500 baptisms in Polish communities alone. In the new Poland there are now

three conferences, two German-speaking and one Polish, the three linked together in a single Union with a membership of about 8,800.

In Czecho-Slovakia the Baptists are making headway among those who have left the Catholic Church, but are not members of the "Czecho-Slovakian National Church." The Czecho-Slovak Baptist Union was founded in 1919, including members from all nationalities in the land, and numbering at present over 3,000 members.

The first Danish Baptist church was founded in 1839, by Oncken and Köbner. The work has steadily grown until at present the membership includes over 5,600 persons and gives every indication of increasing vigor.

The stormy history of the Swedish Baptist movement begins in the revolutionary year 1848, when the first Swedish Baptist church was organized in the vicinity of Gothenburg. Banishment of the leader, F. O. Nilson, and fierce persecution led to the Baptist group migrating, as a *bloc,* to the United States, in 1853. Another attempt to establish a Baptist church took place in the following year, with Stockholm as the center. The statistics of the Swedish Baptist Union are as follows: associations, 21; churches, 681; membership, 60,530; ministers, 436; local preachers, 721; colleges, 2; foreign missionaries, 109; Sunday school pupils, 65,270; members of young people's societies, 31,365.

The two Baptist Conferences in Finland, one Swedish-speaking and the other Finnish, include 45 churches and 3,000 members.

The first Baptist church in Norway was organized in 1860. Lack of leadership in the early years was a serious handicap. The "Norwegian Baptist Conference" was founded in 1877, comprising 42 churches in four associations, with approximately 5,000 members. They now have a theological seminary in Oslo.

Baptist membership in Latvia in 1921 was over 9,000. The number of Baptist churches (84) ranked third after the Lutheran and Orthodox churches. In Lithuania the Baptist move-

ment has not made great headway, but prospects in Esthonia are brighter.

Russia at present has by far the strongest Baptist movement on the whole Continent, and perhaps in the whole of Europe. In 1923, a member of the Russian government placed the number of Baptists at 3,500,000. If this figure be taken as the "community strength" it was probably well within the truth, for the time. The estimate for 1925 is 4,000,000. The Baptist movement in Russia had its origin in German settlements in South Russia and spread to the two southern districts of Kherson and Transcaucasia, around 1870. Czarist methods of persecution were brought to bear in their full weight upon Russian Baptists. Just before the outbreak of the Great War, the membership of the All-Russian Union was estimated at 97,000. Mention must be made here of the other great semi-Baptist movement in Russia, organized into the "All-Russian Union of the Gospel Christians." Its origin dates back to 1870, when Lord Radstock was preaching to the Petersburg aristocracy. The membership of the Union in 1914 was 8,472. The lowest estimates for 1922 of baptized members were 250,000, a number which has since increased. The outstanding figure of the movement for over thirty years has been Ivan S. Prokhanoff. The members of the Union acknowledge themselves as in full agreement with Baptists both in doctrine and polity. A fusion of the two movements may take place in the near future.

In Hungary the Baptist movement took its first successful start in 1874. Rapid progress was made among the various nationalities, and in 1910 the statistics showed 16,839 members and 738 preaching stations. In the Hungary as she emerged from the war there still remain over 9,000 members. Difficult problems regarding the Baptists' relation to the state are before the Hungarian Baptists.

While in old Rumania the number of Baptists was insignificant, in present-day Rumania Baptist membership is not exceeded by any country of Continental Europe except Russia, Sweden and Germany. A nation-wide union of Baptists was created which united Rumanians, Magyars, and Germans.

The associations are based on community of language and naturally assume a considerable importance. The harsh treatment meted out to the Baptists by the Rumanian government has brought upon that country the criticism of the entire civilized world. In spite of persecution, Baptist work is advancing. In 1922, 2,500 persons were baptized.

In Jugoslavia there are small and diverse Baptist groups, with little sense of unity at present but representing in themselves spiritual centers for the conservation of the supreme values of spiritual independence and personal spiritual responsibility.

Promising groups of Baptists are now forming in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian government is the single exception among the Balkan states which allows full religious liberty, including freedom of propaganda.

American Baptist missionary work was started in France in 1833. Two districts were formed in 1861, one north of Paris including Belgium, and one south of Paris including Switzerland. Each has fifteen organized churches and numerous outposts.

French Baptists are not only supporting evangelists overseas under the Paris Missionary Society but also maintain a small theological seminary in Paris. Plans are now being completed to maintain a *colporteur* work among the Rumanian and Polish laborers in Northern France. In recent months a new church building has been completed at Lens.

In Italy, Baptist mission work was started in 1863 by British Baptists, and in 1875 by the Southern Baptists of the United States of America. The two coöperate now in a formal way.

Missionary work by Baptists and by the Brethren along Baptist lines has been carried on in Spain ever since 1868, the year of the Spanish revolution.

The Evangelical Association

The Evangelical Association in Germany and in Switzerland is a branch of the Evangelical Association which is the lineal descendant of the movement begun in 1800 by Jacob Albrecht,

a German-American farmer living in the State of Pennsylvania. In 1850 the first preachers were sent to Germany and were soon followed by others. The work was carried on especially in the neighborhood of Stuttgart and had so flourished that by 1865 the American General Conference decided to establish a German Conference. This Conference was divided in 1900 into a South-German Conference and a North-German Conference. Since the year 1866, the Evangelical Association has been working in Switzerland, and in 1879 a separate Swiss Conference was established.

In South Germany the Association has 3 districts, 59 traveling preachers, 47 resident preachers, 11,965 members, 175 young people's associations, numerous women's missionary societies, 72 catechetical classes, 199 Sunday schools, 104 churches and community houses; in North Germany, 61 traveling preachers, 19 local preachers, 12,221 members, 128 catechetical classes, 183 Sunday schools, 159 young people's associations, 85 women's missionary associations; in Switzerland, 61 traveling preachers, 10 local preachers, 7,856 members, 194 Sunday schools, 71 catechetical classes, 83 young people's associations, 78 churches and community houses.

There are also some small communities scattered in Russia, Poland, and Latvia.

In connection with its seventy-fifth anniversary, the Evangelical Association is commemorating this year the entering of the Association on the foreign mission field, fifty years ago, in Japan.

The Evangelical Association is an offspring of Methodism. Its Confession consists of nineteen articles, which follow closely the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church.

The smallest constituent part of the church organization is the Class. Several classes together form a congregation, the leadership of which is entrusted to a preacher. A number of congregations form a district, with a superintendent. The administrative units, formed within geographical areas, are called conferences and have yearly meetings. The General Conference is the legislative organ of the entire association, meeting every four years. It elects bishops and other functionaries.

A Central Conference has been created for the entire Continent, convening every two years.

The Evangelical Association attempts never to conflict with established Protestant churches and has been able to maintain friendly relations with all of them.

The Moravians

The Moravian Union (*Unitas fratrum*), founded in 1457 in Kunwald, Bohemia, and renewed in 1722 in Herrnhut, Germany, at the present time consists of four groups, two of which are in the United States, a third in England, and the fourth on the Continent. The Continental group is connected with the others in a loose organization. A joint missionary work is carried forward, the Moravians being known throughout the world for their example in undertaking work in difficult places. Among other works, they maintain a leper asylum in Jerusalem. The German Brethren Union, this being its official name, is not limited to German soil; since the year 1919 they have organized communities in Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Norway, France, and Poland.

The Continental Union counts twenty-four communities and a number of so-called Societies. Its strength is in its intensive community life and educational work. Its membership for nearly a century and a half remained static, but lately it has increased to over 9,000 members, not counting the members of its societies. Its spiritual significance and influence in the history of the church in the late Middle Ages and again in the last two centuries, within Protestantism, can hardly be overestimated. Also, its direct influence reaches a number many times as large as the number of its inscribed members. It has been a tradition of Continental Moravians to concern themselves not so much with membership as with furthering the cause of the Kingdom of God wherever their influence might reach.

Practically all of the twenty-four communities came into existence as independent colonies of Moravian emigrants in the close of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth

century. The members form a large family, those of the same sex using the biblical "thou." The paramount ideal with the Moravian brethren has been evangelization in non-Christian lands. Of late a more active interest has been taken in transforming the religious heathenism at home.

Moravian efforts in Latvia and Esthonia have suffered from an anti-German estrangement caused by the war, but the connection of the French groups with the centers of Moravian life has remained intact. In Poland their work would be flourishing were it not for the restrictions placed on it by an ever-suspicious government. Workers from Germany especially experience difficulty in being admitted to Poland. In Germany, centrifugal sectarian tendencies have disrupted many bonds with friends formerly in close relation to the Moravian Unity. These losses have in a sense been made up fully by sympathies won with many of those who through the war were led to a deeper religious life and have united themselves to the Moravian Union.

A number of educational institutions and schools, of great renown, have served to implant a religious spirit in many hearts which otherwise would not have been touched by it.

The foreign mission work of the Moravians is suffering greatly by the temporary tripartition of the groups into Continental, English, and American divisions, which was resorted to under the pressure of war-time necessity. Home mission work has come more to the foreground lately, and a large deaconesses' work is opening up new avenues of social effort.

Other free churches are carrying forward distinguished and deeply spiritual enterprises similar to the four examples given above. The Mennonites, an offspring of the Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century, have grown steadily through the years, now numbering 22,000 in Switzerland, 5,500 in Germany, 70,000 in Holland, 100,000 in Russia, 4,000 in France, and 2,000 in Poland. This body stands firmly for the principles of free membership in the church on the basis of voluntary decision, separation of church and state, refusal to take part in military service or violence of any form, and adult baptism only.

These free churches, in the midst of what is apt to be a reactionary period, will have a stimulating and liberalizing effect upon the religious life of the Continent which cannot be overestimated. New ways of exchange and coöperation are constantly being developed between the free and the people's or state churches.

Chapter XI

THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE

European nations have not been split religiously to the same extent as England and America. In general, the evangelical people in one country remained together in one Protestant *bloc,* either of the Lutheran or of the Reformed type. These two branches consider themselves, therefore, as the truest and oldest heirs of the Reformation and represent the historical tradition of four centuries of the evangelical movement. In Central Europe a union between these two denominations was reached, especially in Prussia, Baden, Poland, and Austria, in which a union church was founded with the two confessions living peacefully together without giving up denominational character.

The main fact in this respect is that in many countries the national church is considered as representing the whole religious tradition of the people and is therefore identified with nationalism to an extent which is impossible in the free churches, which lack the same historic roots in the religious life of that people.

The national church or the church of the people seemed to grant that measure of liberty, within the boundaries of one country and of one church, which rendered possible the collaboration of different theological and religious tendencies within one and the same church. The gain in mutual tolerance and coöperation seemed to counterbalance sufficiently the deficiencies of what in some cases might be vague latitudinarianism.

At the beginning of the World War the national church was extremely popular in public life, sharing the sufferings and sorrows of the people.

In the old age of the war the masses fell back into indifference. Ecclesiastical difficulties sprang up in different countries where the old orthodox party aimed at a transformation

of the broad national church into a confessional body on the basis of a dogmatic statement.

After the war it was found that disestablishment, when the financial burden was not unbearable, awakened a deeper interest in church life in religious people.

A great majority of the people cling to church affiliations even where no strong personal religious convictions are conserved. Even in socialist circles, it is the rule that children be christened and attend the religious lessons in school and church, and that religious ceremonies attend the great moments of life.

Certainly, religious life is more intense in the confessional churches than in the people's churches, which are open to anybody and are not challenging personal conviction or asking for the collaboration of everybody. It may be that the conditions for a church embracing an entire people are lacking. The value of the people's church is to be found, first, in the greater facilities for religious instruction, reaching as it does the largest part of the young generation; secondly, in the fact that common religious habits are formed which have great unifying influence. Nevertheless the spiritual value of such habits should not be exaggerated. Mere attendance and traditional loyalties intermixed with political considerations fail to produce the fruits of the spirit, but they nevertheless show that in the depth of the people's mind there is a desire for a spiritual foundation of individual and national life and that a feeling is prevailing that the church should be a soul to the nation. The movement to leave the church *en masse* has gradually died away. During the years 1919-1922 such a movement was started in Germany. In 1919 not less than 229,778 persons left the church, in 1920 as many as 305,584, in 1921 only 246,075; in 1922 the number fell to 149,709 and is still diminishing. A considerable number of those who left have found their way back to the church. This movement is less dangerous for the structure of the church than the disintegrating work of such religious groups as the Russellites, who are hostile to any organized and historic church.

It is safe to say that nearly everywhere on the Continent the greater part of labor and of the higher and cultured classes

have lost their connection with the church. This is less true for Great Britain than for the Continent. The church was mainly built on the lower middle classes. To-day this segment of society is for the most part financially ruined in the Central countries and the financial burden which the disestablished church is laying on the shoulders of this class has undoubtedly caused some to drop church membership to escape the payment of necessary contributions.

The great charitable work which has been done by the church or religious organizations in the Inner Mission for the poor, the aged, the orphan, the sick, and the lonely has created a devotion in the hearts of the people which cannot easily be dispelled. In this respect great difference is noticeable in the churches of the Continent. While the Evangelical churches of the Central and Western countries have a highly developed system of Inner Mission, such works are either entirely lacking or only beginning in the Eastern countries.

Chapter XII

CONTINENTAL MISSIONARY, SOCIAL, AND TEMPERANCE WORK

The missionary impulse in European Protestantism had its beginnings among small groups of earnest believers and not as the collective endeavor of any church. While in England Established and Nonconformist churches both carry on a great missionary activity as part of their official work, missions on the Continent have remained the private enterprises of Christian circles within or without the churches, with the exception, to a certain degree at least, of the Scandinavian countries. In Germany, only the Moravian Society, a free church, identified itself at an early date with the missionary cause. Most of the large missionary societies on the Continent, although they are extra-ecclesiastical organizations, are made up of members of the national churches, while some of the smaller ones are distinctly sectarian in character.

Missionary effort in Europe suffers acutely from having enlisted in too large a number of separate enterprises. Particularly in Germany, with her perpetual economic crises, the disadvantages of this situation are obvious, especially when the various societies are struggling with limited budgets, while the fields formerly held by German missions are steadily being reopened to their work.

That the cause of missions has laid hold upon the conscience of Europe is evidenced by the presence of 194 established missionary societies, in addition to which there are numerous auxiliary coöperating and collecting agencies. England has 63, Ireland has 13, Scotland has 20, Denmark has 10, Finland has 4, France has 3, Germany has 31, The Netherlands has 19, Norway has 9, Sweden has 16, and Switzerland has 5.

The geographical distribution and nature of this far-flung

work can be seen somewhat by the lists and dates of founding of the societies of three typical countries—England, The Netherlands, and Switzerland.

England

Baptist

Baptist Missionary Society (1792)
Strict Baptist Mission (1861)

Christian

Christian Missions in Many Lands (1836)

Church of England

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701)
Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East (1799)
Colonial and Continental Church Society (1823)
Melanesian Mission (1840)
South American Missionary Society (1844)
West Indian African Mission, English Committee (1855)
Universities' Mission to Central Africa (1858)
Cowley, Wantage and All Saints Missionary Association (1874)
Cambridge Mission to Delhi (1877)
Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (1880)
Oxford Mission to Calcutta (1880)
Jerusalem and the East Mission (1888)

Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion

Sierra Leone Mission (1853)

Friends

Friends' Foreign Mission Association (1866)
Friends' Armenian Mission Committee (1882)

Methodist

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1813)
Women's Auxiliary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society (1858)
Primitive Methodist Missionary Society (1842)
United Methodist Church Missionary Society (1857)

Moravian

Trust Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (1741)

Presbyterian

Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Mission (1840)
Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church of England (1847) and Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of England (1878)

Undenominational

Africa Inland Mission (1895)
Angola Evangelical Mission (1898)
British and Foreign Bible Society (1804)
British Syrian Mission (1860)
Central Asian Mission (1895)
Ceylon and India General Mission (1892)
Children's Special Service Mission (1867)
China Inland Mission (1865)
Christian Literature Society for India and Africa (1858)
Congo Evangelistic Mission (1915)
Egypt General Mission (1897)
Emmanuel Medical Mission (1906)
Evangelical Union of South America (1911)
Foreign and Overseas Department of the English National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations (1890)
Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission (1906)
International Holiness Mission, Inc. (1907)
International Postal Telegraph and Telephone Christian Association
Kurku and Central Indian Hill Mission (1890)
Lakher Pioneer Mission (1905)

Lebanon Hospital for Mental Diseases (1896)
London Missionary Society (1795)
Maranham Christian Mission (1903)
Missionary Settlement for University Women (in India) (1895)
Nile Mission Press (1905)
North Africa Mission (1881)
Nyassa Industrial Mission (1893)
Overseas Committee of the National Young Women's Christian Association of Great Britain and Ireland (1906)
Palestine Village Mission (1895)
Pentecostal Missionary Union for Great Britain and Ireland (1909)
Regions Beyond Missionary Union (1899)
Religious Tract Society (1799)
Salvation Army (1865)
South Africa General Mission (1889)
Sudan United Mission, Executive Committee (1904)
Work among Japanese Seamen in the Port of London (1898)
World's Sunday School Association, British Committee (1913)
Worldwide Evangelization Crusade (1913)
Zambesi Industrial Mission (1892)
Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (1852)
Women's Christian Medical College (India), London Auxiliary Committee (1898)

The Netherlands

Mission Society of the Moravian Church in Zeist (1793)
Association for Promoting Religious Education among the Natives in Surinam (1829)
Netherlands Bible Society (1814)
Union for the Furtherance of the Rhenish Missionary Society (1884)

Mennonite Union for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Ultramarine Possessions of The Netherlands (1848)
Reformed Mission League (1901)
Java Committee at Amsterdam (1855)
Netherlands Missionary Union (1858)
Utrecht Mission Union (1859)
Central Committee for the Founding and Supporting of a Seminary near Batavia (1873)
Netherlands Lutheran Society for Home and Foreign Missions (1880)
Union for the Maintenance of a Boarding and Day School for the Daughters of Chiefs and Upper Classes in Minahassa at Tomhon (1881)
Union for the Propagation of the Gospel in Egypt (1886)
Union for the Support of the Missionaries of the Salatiga Mission in Java (1889)
Mission of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands to the Pagans and Mohammedans (1892)
Committee for providing for the Religious needs of the Established Native Protestant Christian Churches on the Sangi and Talaud Islands (1901)
Union for Javanese Girls' Schools, Committee of Assistance in Holland (1905)
Union for the Associated Missions of the Free Christian Churches in The Netherlands (1919)
Mission of the Christian Reformed Church (1920)

Switzerland

Basel Evangelical Missionary Society (1815)
Mission Romande (1875)
General Evangelical Mission French Switzerland (1875)
Swiss Committee of Help for the Kanarese Evangelical Mission (1918)
Swiss Branch of the Paris Mission (1830)
Chrischona Branch of the China Inland Mission (1895)
Philafrican Mission (1897)

During the catastrophic years of inflation English and American friends of missions enabled the German societies to keep their work from being completely disintegrated. Although conditions now are more favorable, the situation is grave among nearly all societies.

A large number of Continental churches have no mission work at all. This is partly due to the fact that the Continental churches left mission work to private societies and can not at present undertake to carry it forward. Where no missionary societies were educating church groups and collecting funds, missions remained almost unknown to the people. This lack is keenly felt by Eastern European churches and frequent requests come from Eastern churches for information as to Western methods of church missionary work.

The idea and practice of coöperation at the home base of Continental missions is an established principle. Before the war, German and Swiss and French and Swiss societies were collaborating in the same missionary societies. Mission work has been an important contribution to the realization of the Christian ideal of international collaboration. Such coöperation was particularly important during the war. Help from abroad alone made possible the maintenance of some German and French missions.

The war was a severe blow to the missionary enterprises of the Central countries. The Germans could keep only a small part of their mission fields. Foreign societies undertook the work and special aiding societies in other countries were formed with the aim of supporting the now leaderless missions. Christian unity was broken on the mission field as well as between the churches at home. The formation of the International Missionary Council has had a most helpful effect in rebuilding the broken communion and also in persuading various governments holding mandated German territory to permit German missionaries to return to their ports. The British have been noteworthy in this respect.

Societies in countries with a low rate of exchange can no longer maintain their work on the same level as before the war. The whole Continental missionary effort is suffering

from persistent deficits. New methods are sought to meet these difficulties. One is the effort to find more international coöperation, although the different churches believe it their duty to express their historic character in mission work, believing that a valuable spiritual contribution would be lost if the American type of mission work should predominate to the extent of precluding the smaller and poorer missions from the Continent. Another method consists in the effort to interest the official churches more directly in mission work. Indeed, a remarkable *rapprochement* between church and missionary societies has taken place in recent years which has resulted in mutual benefits.

Sixty years ago various missionary societies formed a Continental Conference which meets regularly in Bremen for the discussion of common problems, some of which are methods of common propaganda, the treatment of missionary property in the mission field since the war, the attitude to be taken toward new national churches in the mission field, and the question as to how Continental missions can collaborate in the best way with the International Missionary Council. A certain antagonism is sometimes felt between Continental and Western missionary methods. Georg Michaelis, ex-Chancellor of the German Empire, a devout Christian, remarked after participation in a missionary conference in China that the duty of preaching the Gospel came before all social work and expressed some anxiety about the ability of American missionaries to spiritualize their extensive undertakings. He expressed the idea that "Missions should stand against propaganda," while Professor Heinrich Frick, of the theological faculty of the University of Giessen, an authority on missions, has stated plainly that it is impossible to carry forward any widespread missionary endeavor without systematic propaganda or education among the peoples and churches.

Home and Inner Mission

Home or Inner Mission work has not yet become a common feature of all European countries, the churches differing widely in their attitudes.

Inner Missions, like the foreign mission work, was first undertaken by private groups who felt the need of social and religious betterment among the people. Among the Western and Central churches numerous enterprises sprang up. Georg Miller, Wichern, Father Bodelschwingh, John Bost, Elizabeth Fry, and Stöcker gave stimulus to Christian mercy and discovered methods of helping the poor, the sick, the unevangelized and the underprivileged. Bodelschwingh built a town of charitable institutions.

Individual efforts were more and more absorbed in larger societies, which built up in single towns or even within whole churches a system of charitable institutions. All the large towns of Western and Central Europe have their Home Missions or Town Missions. In recent years it has been increasingly considered not so much the task of specially gifted preachers as the obligation of all Christian people or even of the churches as such. The war shook the foundations of all charitable institutions on the Continent. They had entirely to be rebuilt on a sounder financial basis, with the assistance of loans and sacrificial giving; and loans are badly needed. Various organizations of Inner Mission have been formed, such as the *Société Centrale* in France, the Inner Mission Organization in Germany, and the *Diakonisstyrelsen Expedition* in Sweden and Denmark. In June of 1926 the first Continental Conference on Inner Mission work took place in Amsterdam.

Inner Mission work is in its infancy in Eastern Europe. Social conditions have not been as acute in these agrarian lands as among industrial populations; nevertheless, the need for such work is beginning to be felt and a start has been made in the direction of a constructive program. Western churches have brought a new social stimulus to these Eastern communions and frequent requests are made of them for information. Such social efforts are proving to be the common ground for interdenominational enterprises and understanding.

A common problem before the European churches is the care of the religious *diaspora* in Catholic countries. Especially in Southern and Eastern Europe, hundreds of thousands of Protestants live scattered in small groups amongst a Roman

Catholic population. They are certain to be lost to their faith in time, unless evangelical schools are established. This is difficult in countries where state schools are entirely in the hands of Roman Catholic teachers or of priests or nuns, unless an evangelical parish life keeps the small groups together. Different great societies like *Société Centrale* in France, *Gustav-Adolf Verein* in Germany, and the Swiss Society for Protestants in Former Austria are dealing with this common problem. Much is still to be done for scattered Protestant groups in France, Jugoslavia, Austria, Poland, and Rumania. A traveling preacher in Rumania recently found many groups of Protestants ranging from fifty to three hundred people who had not seen a pastor or heard a sermon within fifteen years. The task of reclaiming this evangelical *diaspora* is fast becoming one of the chief problems of Continental Protestantism.

In general, the Protestant Church left a large share of charitable work to secular societies which in America is done by the churches themselves. The quietistic attitude among Lutherans which allowed social work to drift into non-religious hands has contributed much to the lack of influence in public life on the part of the church in Lutheran countries. A new awakening to the need of the social endeavor on the part of the church was a marked aspect of both the Copec and Stockholm Conferences.

Notable advances have been made by the Y.M.C.A. in Europe since 1900. Germany has the *Christliche Verein junger Männer* and *Jungmännerverein,* Austria the *Christliche Verein junger Männer,* Belgium the *Union chretienne de jeunes gens,* Denmark the *Kristelig Forening for Unge Maend,* Spain the *Union Cristiana de Jovenes,* Finland the *Nuorten Miesten Kristillinen Yhdistys,* Great Britain the Young Men's Christian Association, Holland the *Chr. Jongemannenvereeniging,* Hungary the *Keresztyen Ifjusagi Egyesuletak,* Norway the *Kristelig Forening af Unge Maend,* Sweden the *Kristlig Forening av Unga Man,* Serbia the *Hriscanska Zajednica Mladih Ljudi,* and Switzerland the *Christliche Verein junger Männer.*

The American Y.M.C.A. is coöperating with local forces in eleven countries including France, Portugal, Italy, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Rumania, Turkey, Greece, Esthonia,

and Latvia. A headquarters for this work is maintained in Geneva with a field staff of five men. Thirty-eight American and Canadian secretaries are now engaged in European areas of service under the Foreign Committee of the National Councils of The Young Men's Christian Association of The United States of America and Canada.

The Association work in Europe follows the threefold ministry of body, mind, and spirit. City, small town, and community associations carry on work with boys, students, and men in industry. Physical work and athletics are popular everywhere. The opportunities for religious work vary in different countries, many strong leaders having been enlisted.

The far-flung work with troops in various European nations is gradually being liquidated into a certain program able to build upon the good-will engendered by ten years' service with armies in the field.

The Salvation Army has given a strong impetus to home mission work in many European countries. At the recent celebration of its sixtieth anniversary, great celebrations were held in London and at the Sorbonne in Paris, where Marc Sangnier, a Catholic with wide social outlook, gave a stirring tribute to the activity of the Army. In former years the Army was confronted with the criticism of the population and often with the hostility of the churches. To-day it is almost universally acknowledged as a powerful factor in social regeneration. An important principle of the warfare of the Salvation Army is that of adaption. It has become the friend of the homeless, the friendless, the workless, and the prisoner. Throughout its social work the importance of personal allegiance to Christ is emphasized.

A vital principle of Army finance is that every department shall be as far as possible self-supporting. The Army is carrying on its activities in nearly every European country. England has 5,871 officers and 1,579 centers of work, Sweden 1,239 officers and 1,374 centers, Norway 671 officers and 1,252 centers, Denmark 417 officers and 131 centers, Germany 417 officers and 156 centers, Holland 430 officers and 139 centers, France 213 officers and 107 centers, Switzerland 516 officers

and 396 centers, Belgium 42 officers and 18 centers, Czecho-Slovakia 38 officers and 11 centers, Finland 425 officers and 247 centers, Latvia 14 officers and 3 centers, Italy 64 officers and 38 centers.

Two English organizations which have done much for religious literature of the entire Continent are the Religious Tract Society founded in 1799 and the British and Foreign Bible Society founded in 1804. The former has distributed hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature in every dialect of Europe, while the latter has translated the Scriptures and sold and given them away through *colporteurs* in the remotest sections of nearly every country. Both have assisted tract and Bible societies in many nations, and especially since the war have helped organizations that would have perished without this timely assistance.

The Temperance Movement Among European Churches

Alcoholism, contrary to the opinion of many in America, is having disastrous results in many European countries and in none more than in Britain and Ireland, Italy, France, and Germany, which countries have been cited as models of sobriety. Large sections of the people are becoming increasingly aware of the economic, social, and moral consequences of the drinking, and serious efforts are gaining support for the reduction or prohibition of the trade in alcoholic drinks in many countries, an almost undreamed-of condition two decades ago; but the losses sustained by the war have caused reasonable men to scrutinize all social customs.

In Sweden in 1922 a new law was adopted which rejected prohibition but accepted local option. It is too early to draw conclusions, but an improvement in the condition of drunkenness is already visible. In Norway a similar struggle is going forward, hampered by large commercial interests in the liquor trade and deep-seated customs. In 1924 an international conference on the alcohol question took place in Oslo. Denmark adopted a law in 1925 which granted local option.

Finland, as early as 1913, owing to its severe legislation, had

the lowest consumption of alcoholic liquor of any country in the world. In 1924 the Parliament refused overwhelmingly to abolish prohibition. Among the hardy Finns the national beverage is milk, which is the drink commonly ordered in cafés.

A systematic struggle against alcoholism, begun in the schools, is being carried on in Esthonia. In Latvia the movement is still weak but has made some headway. Local option is enforced in Lithuania, and the anti-liquor movement is strengthened by the Blue Cross Society, as well as by the Catholics and Methodists.

A strong opposition to the introduction of local option has developed in Poland, chiefly because of the possible loss of revenues through excise taxes; but the Catholic Good Templars and school-teachers have done much to give effect to existing laws regulating the trade in drink.

At the present time Czecho-Slovakia has under consideration a law providing for local option and monopoly by the communes for selling liquor. The anti-alcohol movement is carried forward as an educational enterprise.

Jugoslavia has a hopeful young temperance society with centers throughout the country, supported by the government, but it has not yet led to legislation.

In Bulgaria, public attention is awakening to the issue and different parties and religious groups are becoming interested.

Russia has reintroduced the liquor monopoly of the state and has now set itself the impossible task of educating the moujik not to drink, while it is attempting to recoup itself for sidereal deficits from the by-products of his drunkenness.

In Hungary, the fight against alcoholism has been halted by the bad economic conditions and by the fact that it is a wine-producing country. The Red Cross, largely supported by Methodists, and other societies have undertaken an educational campaign.

Immediately after the war there was a marked increase in drinking in Germany, but during the economic crisis the consumption of liquor has considerably decreased, having become an article of luxury in many families. The church in Ger-

many has been slow to realize its responsibility. The Blue Cross, which was introduced from Switzerland in 1884, was at first received with suspicion. In 1912 the ecclesiastical conference of Eisenach stated that "Alcoholic beverages ought to be considered as in no way affecting the relation of the Christian with God and with Christ"; and the suppression of alcoholic beverages was judged as a Utopian dream. Since then the attitude has changed and the General Assembly in Stuttgart in 1923 drew attention to the growing danger of alcoholism. A number of societies supported by strong public opinion, especially in the churches, is organizing a temperance movement.

Austria is largely indifferent, but a stronge temperance movement is alive, especially in Methodist circles. In many schools an educational campaign is being carried forward.

A decrease in the consumption of liquor is reported by Holland. A local option law is being discussed and the churches are considering the formation of an anti-alcohol federation among their several memberships.

Switzerland has a governmental monopoly of alcoholic liquors. The farmers were given great liberty, which has led to alcoholism in rural districts. Different societies are now proposing new legislation and educational campaigns. Switzerland is also the seat of the *Bureau International contre l'Alcohol.* A Protestant pastor, L. L. Rochat, launched the temperance movement under its modern form of total abstinence in 1877, and in 1925 the Swiss Church Federation issued a manifesto against the dangers of alcohol.

In France, as in other wine-producing countries, there is still much indifference towards the dangers of liquor, owing largely to the efforts of large commercial interests; but a group of societies, including the National League, the Good Templars, and the Blue Cross, have begun an educational work and are entering politics.

Belgium passed a law regulating liquor consumption which has proved a target for many attacks. The intellectual élite, however, including the late Cardinal Mercier, and the religious societies, are defending the law with success.

Italy has laws which restrict the selling of liquor to a limited extent. Being a wine-producing country, it is chary of too severe methods.

Spain and Portugal depend so much on selling their wine that their governments have made tariff reprisals against small countries introducing laws against alcoholism.

In Rumania, both Orthodox and Protestant churches are encouraging the government to pass laws for the regulation of the liquor traffic.

England and Scotland had hopes that a Labor government would bring about drastic regulation. In 1923 Lady Astor fought through a law forbidding the selling of liquor to young people. The following year Parliament rejected a bill for local option. At present there is a struggle between local optionists and the adherents of "disinterested management." In Scotland, local option is steadily gaining ground. Some small reforms have been put through in the North of Ireland, but little improvement has been made throughout the Island, which has suffered severely at the hands of the liquor traffic.

Churches both Protestant and Catholic are slowly but decidedly moving in the direction of drastic regulation or abolition of the liquor trade. Not only the Pope but Catholics in many countries have supported the fight, and this has led to collaboration with Protestants. The late Cardinal Mercier was the patron of all Catholic temperance leagues. The Swiss bishops published a Lenten letter consecrated to the fight against alcohol.

In Great Britain, Protestant laymen started the movement and the churches followed, while to-day the churches are eager to take part in the struggle officially. The Church of England Temperance Society is presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Council of the Churches has organized a national crusade to arouse public opinion. In Scotland, as in England, most of the churches now have temperance committees.

In Sweden, Switzerland, and Norway, the temperance movement had at the outset a marked religious character. Sweden imitated American methods and brought about a concentration

of the Protestant forces against alcoholism. Pastor Oestlund, who had lived in the United States, organized a Swedish Anti-Saloon League with official church support.

The free churches, nearly all over the Continent, are particularly eager in this fight and are often in advance of the state churches. In Denmark the church concerns itself especially with rescue work among drunkards. In Latvia, both Protestant and Orthodox churches have embraced the temperance cause.

In Bulgaria, the Protestant minority is so thoroughly anti-alcohol that the words abstainer and Protestant have become synonymous.

Chapter XIII

THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION

As long as the churches were connected with the state, they were not directly confronted with the problem of education. The state included religious instruction in the official school curricula, acknowledging the value of religious and moral education. Instruction in many states, given either by schoolteacher or by minister or theological professors, included a full Bible course with an elementary knowledge of church history and the foundation of ethics. In the middle school or high school, religious instruction became optional in many states, but was generally attended, at least in the lower classes. In addition to this official or optional religious instruction in public schools there is the curriculum of religious instruction given by the church itself in Sunday schools and catechisms and in weekly religious training during one to two years preceding confirmation. Under normal conditions, except in larger towns, few children grew up in state or people's churches without these religious studies. Even socialist and atheist parents send their children to the weekly religious education period in school and church. This system of religious education differed in the various countries, in the number of lessons given and in the age of confirmation.

With disestablishment, the churches were faced with new tasks inasmuch as the new state refused to be responsible for religious education. The churches have been compelled to construct a new system of religious instruction and to discover facilities, teachers, and money. States have adopted different attitudes towards this problem. In France the state makes no provision whatever for religious education. In Central and Northern Europe the governments show a sympathetic attitude toward religious instruction and facilitate it in the public

schools. The Russian government not only excludes religion from the schools but forbids religious instruction altogether up to the eighteenth year. In the Evangelical churches of the Eastern countries and in the *diaspora* there is no more acute problem than that of religious training of the young.

Disestablishment raised the problem of the confessional school. As the state school became neutral from a religious point of view, or in many cases even hostile to religion, many parents, both Protestant and Catholic, preferred to send their children to schools with a distinctly confessional character. The states fear that by such an early division of youth according to confessional convictions the national unity will be destroyed, which the neutral state school uniting children from different confessions purports to create.

Theological education of the ministry forms a part of the university program in most of the Continental countries. Continental and European churches emphasize a high standard of scholarship and prefer, in general, to expose their students to the fresh air of the university even at the risk of dangerous influences rather than to exclude them from the general culture of the larger institutions in smaller denominational seminaries.

After disestablishment and the suppression of the theological faculties at many Central European universities, churches were compelled to organize seminaries of their own. This occurred in France, in Italy, and to some degree in Hungary. In some of the smaller or new states or in countries where the universities include only a Roman Catholic or Orthodox theological faculty, the Evangelical churches were compelled to make necessary provisions for recruiting and training their ministry by organizing divinity schools with their own means, as in Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Hungary. In Jugoslavia theological students who have no local seminaries are compelled to attend foreign faculties. In Central and Northern Europe the state maintains a theological faculty in the university. In Holland the state supports several chairs of religious science and leaves it to the church to supply the faculty with chairs for the doctrinal and practical theology and to pay the salary of these church-professors.

The theological faculties in Germany, Switzerland, the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, and to some degree Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Austria, are either entirely a part of the official university or are at least partly subsidized by the state. The greatest advantage of this system is not so much the financial responsibility which the state assumes, but the freedom of teaching and scientific research, the independence from financial or personal or party influences granted to the theological teachers. The disadvantage of this system is the lack of connection of the divinity school with the church, which cannot control the theological and doctrinal education of its future ministers. The church seeks, therefore, to supplement the scientific training of the student by prescribing a period of training in a "preachers' seminary" where the candidates are introduced into practical church work.

This system of theological education involves a certain vagueness. In many countries the church has no definite doctrinal authority or is using it very moderately even where older doctrinal declarations are still valid. This doctrinal latitudinarianism, not tolerated in small free churches, is due to the character of the people's church, which must be broad enough to give room to the different religious tendencies within a church. As a rule, the curriculum includes four years of university studies.

At present recruiting for the ministry is confronted with great difficulties in nearly all countries. Theological students formerly came from the middle classes, for whom university studies to-day are a heavy burden. In Germany, for instance, there are at present not more than 1,900 theological students, as against 4,000 in 1914. Enlisting and training future leadership is one of the main features in the constructive program of European churches.

Chapter XIV

THE CHURCH AND LABOR

The socialist ideas of Marx led to an international organization embracing a large section of the workers of Europe. Whether they preferred to associate themselves in trade unions or in a Socialist party, the influence of Marx was a powerful factor. On the Continent, Lassalle, Engels, Bebel, Jaurès, Vandervelde, Branting, caused the movement to take a somewhat different course from its counterpart in Great Britain. The Continental Labor Movement aimed earlier at political power, showed a more hostile attitude to the state as it was, and clung to a materialistic and irreligious philosophy. The Eastern countries, with an agricultural population, were less accessible to socialist ideas, nevertheless, small radical groups succeeded in indoctrinating large sections.

The rapid formation of national and international Socialist parties, and their desire for a complete transformation of the social and economic order, found the churches entirely unprepared and for the most part hostile. The churches, especially on the Continent, let the strategic moment slip by in which to assimilate the new movement.

The first feature of the Socialist program which produced a non-sympathetic attitude on the part of the church was an apparent materialistic conception of life. Socialism often declared itself to be neutral on religion, but was practically hostile toward the church and religion. In the program of Erfurt, which has been for years the official basis of Socialist policy, the materialistic philosophy of Haeckel, Vogt, and Büchner was adopted by the workers. Religion was despised as an opiate for the people.

The second reason for the early antagonism between church

and Labor was the refusal of the workers to consider anything but a decisive class-struggle in settling the industrial question. Nothing but a thoroughgoing revolution would satisfy the hopes of large sections of the laboring classes,—a condition which still persists in many areas.

The church was so identified with the structure and political aims of the state that it was impossible for her to understand or to collaborate with a party which sought to undermine the foundation of state and church. In vain did far-seeing men attempt to point out that there was an element of Christian brotherliness hidden beneath the hostile, anti-religious attitude of the Socialists. The latter accused the church of being a class institution in the service of the capitalists and ruling groups. In large cities more than seventy-five per cent of the working class have given up all connection with the church, which they consider one of the main obstacles in the way to social progress.[1]

Serious efforts at a *rapprochement* with labor were made by men in the churches, including Fallot, Kingsley, Wichern, Bodelschwingh, through the large social work of the Inner Mission. This charitable work has not, however, included any conviction as to the necessity of transforming the whole social order. Lutheranism has been particularly reluctant to espouse such ideas because it was genuinely opposed to revolutionary transformations of this present world. Lutheran Protestantism has often been criticized as having no social ethics or as having only ethics embracing obedience to God. Lutheranism has never considered it the task of the church to take the lead in social reform. Its conservatism and its attachment to the monarchy have prevented a thoroughgoing social movement, although it abounds in works of brotherly love.

In Germany, towards the end of the last century, great improvements in the living conditions of laboring men were made by the state itself, at which time a forward movement was begun by the Inner Mission. The economic and industrial problems were studied by different organizations, which tried to

[1] See *Blätter für relig.*, article "Sozialismus," October, 1925.

find a synthesis between the social claims of labor and the Gospel.

The Evangelical Social Congress in Germany was founded in 1890 by Stöcker, Max Weber, Harnack, Rade, Baumgarten, von Soden and others. The permanent Congress remained a center of social studies of a somewhat academic character for a period of thirty-five years. Its publications reveal the tendencies of a large part of European Protestantism in response to the new Socialist movement. The Congress requested the church to keep in close contact with the facts of the modern economic system, science, and the material and psychological conditions of capitalism and socialism, and to abstain from forming idealistic programs. It was denied that the Gospel as such contains a program of economic transformation. The main social impulse of the Gospel is its message of the unique value of the soul and human personality, of faith in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. This defines the task of the church, which has to preach the application of the Gospel in the spirit of Christ to the working populations. The Congress was split when Stöcker and Naumann separated and founded their own organization with similar aims.

The influence of these organizations remained confined more or less to academic circles and did not change the attitude of Labor towards Christianity. It was hoped that disestablishment would change the hostility of Labor towards the church, but such hopes were vain. Established and disestablished churches remain for the workers in the same condemnation as before. They cannot forget the former indifference of the church and its attack on "faithless" social-democracy.

The Religious Social Movement sprang up in Switzerland, Germany, France, Holland, and in other countries, among groups which were convinced that no reconciliation was possible between Labor and religion as long as the fundamental claims of the Socialists for justice were not accepted by Christian people. In this new movement Kutter, Ragaz, Fuchs, Tillich, Mennicke, Gout, Wilfred Monod, Elie Gounelle, and Beskow advocated a new understanding of socialistic claims.

The question was no more how to win back the Labor masses for the church or how to mitigate this hardness of their life by innumerable works of Christian love, but how to interpret an apparently unchristian movement as an expression of the deeper claims of social justice and brotherly love contained in the Gospel.

Small groups of pastors inscribed themselves as members of the Socialist party to show their willingness to expiate the sins of the church in its lack of understanding. Their zeal for practical activity and their willingness to participate in political struggles were an expression of their hope to win the confidence of Labor and to bring to Labor a new religious faith in place of the materialistic unbelief with which this idealistic movement was connected. They threw in their lot with the effort to transform the social order, which had grown intolerable to Christian consciences. Socialism became for them a means of fulfilling God's will. This religious socialism shares the aims of political socialism, but not its motives. It stands, in the name of the Gospel, for the ideals of Socialism as against Capitalism, but it fights the materialistic spirit of the Social Democratic party quite as fiercely as it combats the reactionary spirit of ecclesiastical conservatism.

The general tendencies of this religious social movement were parallel in all the Western countries, but the work was done on a national basis prior to the Copec and Stockholm Conferences. In France the group of religious Socialists, inspired by men like Tomy Fallot, Charles Gide, Wilfred Monod, L. Comte, Roberty, and R. Allier, had formed the *Association Protestante pour l'Etude et l'Action Sociale* in 1887 with a practical program published in 1910, very similar to the social manifesto of the American Federal Council and the Copec conclusions. The Association is publishing a review entitled *Christianisme Social,* edited by Elie Gounelle, and is multiplying a great many individual efforts to Christianize the social order. They conceive the task of the church to struggle against any social order which eliminates the values wrapped up in human personality, advocating support for the justified claims of Labor and seeking to inspire the Socialist movement with the idealistic

spirit of the Christian religion. Churches are asked to manifest a sympathetic understanding of the well-defined aims of the workers and not to confine themselves to publishing general and meaningless declarations of good-will. *"Elle doit entrer dans la mêlée."* Its first task is to educate men and women for a new social order. "We, the Churches of Christ, in an inexpressible feeling of our misery and our shortcomings, but called by God to evangelize the world, have to teach all those engaged in the social struggle the sacred duty of coöperation. We have, according to the incomparable manual of the perfect workers, the Gospel, to educate the men capable of service and sacrifice who are wanted in industry and commerce for preparing the coöperative republic in which one day the ideal of justice and divine kindness of the Kingdom will be manifested." [2] These ideals are practiced in France by a number of social agencies, such as *La Cause,* and by a lay order, *Les Veilleurs,* founded by Wilfred Monod, who take a vow to live according to the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount.

The French propagators of the social Gospel are less radical in their judgment on the present form of the church than some of the leaders in Switzerland, and, of late, in Germany. Although they are aware that the church, socially conservative, has lost opportunities and thrust off obligations for social leadership, yet, in the words of Elie Gounelle, "our love, and zeal, and devotion for the churches must double, and we must stay there at whatever cost, even though they may leave us unsatiated: because we cannot find something better, and because the churches, too, not any less than the heathen, must be evangelized." Gounelle warns the church, lest she should be found obdurate, like the "first-born" Israel, to the message of Christ. Charles Gide, the sociologist, advocate of the coöperative system, and senior leader of the French Social Christian movement, has defined the double task of his movement. "You are laboring," he said, "for two things: first, to show to the masses that are unbelievers that there is a Christian religion which is necessary, and a second and yet more difficult task, to

[2] Elie Gounelle, in *L'Eglise et les Problèmes économiques industriels et sociaux,* 1925.

THE GREAT CHURCH AT ULM

Fritz Mackensen

GÖTTESDIENST

show the Christian 'bourgeois' that there is a socialism that is necessary."

The Copec Conference in Birmingham in 1924 revealed another aspect of this movement. Labor in England has not shown the same antipathy to the churches as on the Continent although a deep estrangement is apparent. The anti-religious bias of British, Irish and Scotch workers at its worst cannot be compared with the hatred of the church manifested by their Continental fellow workers.

Labor in England, when it organized itself politically, took up an independent attitude to religion, but accusations that the churches were the strongest protagonists of the classes against the masses were often heard, in spite of the practical and far-sighted social works and charitable enterprises both in the Church of England and in the free churches. Philanthropy and charity can never suffice for an underlying philosophy of life which embraces the legitimate claims of the laboring millions.

Such accusations are no longer justified since the Copec Conference tried to group all social efforts within the church and to concentrate the social interest on definite points of social reconstruction. The Christian Social Union had one representative of these tendencies within the Church of England and other Christian communions have corresponding organizations.

The Copec Conference made it clear as never before that the church has a "social function, that the Christian battle is against the world, equally with the Flesh and the Devil, that the Gospel has not merely a social application, but social implications." Copec faced in different fields the practical issues that arise when the sphere of general statement is left and practical work is attempted. In the work of this Conference great attention was given to the discussion of Christian doctrines and their social bearings. The Conference admitted that the "industrial and economic society is, from the standpoint of Christian principles, not merely defective, but vicious and radically unchristian and we must therefore labor not for a mere mitigation of these evils by the use of palliatives, but for a funda-

mental, though no doubt gradual, transformation of its character and organization." [3]

What for a long time had been the preoccupation of single individuals and groups became, after the Copec Conference, a task with which the churches as a whole feel concerned. Following Copec, the German Church Federation issued a social message in 1924. Care was taken not to enter too deeply into technical questions and to recognize that the economic and industrial system has its own laws which must be respected.

The Universal Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm in 1925 is the most recent and powerful manifestation of a new social consciousness of the churches. This meeting was evidently a turning point in church history in so far as organized Christianity assumes the social responsibility which is laid on her by the teachings of Jesus. The churches confessed their shortcomings and declared their willingness to apply the Gospel of Christ to the whole of human activity.

Here again a noticeable difference existed between the conception of the social function of the church as described by Anglo-American groups and the ideas of Continental Lutherans. This different conception is to be found in a different interpretation of the nature of the Kingdom of God and its relation to the world. Western Christianity of the Anglo-American type conceives of the Kingdom of God as a transformation of this world, rendered possible by the application of the best of our moral and religious methods, through human good-will and social reform divinely reënforced, while the churches of Eastern and Central Europe conceive the Kingdom as apocalyptic in its nature. There is no need for human collaboration and with a merely apocalyptic interpretation of the Kingdom even the best social and moral efforts can not accelerate its coming.

This passive attitude is not only due to Lutheran Quietism, but to the strong influence of the theology of Karl Barth and his group, who are opposed categorically to any attempt to

[3] See also the fifth Interim Report of the Archbishops' Committee and the Report of the same Committee on "The Church and Social Service, 1920."

introduce the divine into the substance and process of this world. Divinity remains transcendent until the day when divine forces make their irruption into this unholy world to transform it miraculously from above. Ethical, constructive thinking as well as social programs are therefore criticized as an expression of Christian pride, a human invention, whereas a humble renunciation of the attempt to find a solution for the problems of the world order would be more appropriate.

The limits and nature of the social task of the church is fast becoming one of the main problems in the discussion between European and American Protestantism.

European Protestantism is aware of the grave social dangers lurking in the present order of dictatorships, materialistic communism, nationalism and fascism, and will have an authentic word to say regarding the final adjustments in our unfolding social order.

Chapter XV

THE CHURCH AND THE PEACE MOVEMENTS

With the exception of small groups of pacifists, no section of any warring nation refused to identify itself with the national interest during the World War.

The church in its effort to spiritualize the whole of life has become too much a part of the warp and woof of this world to extricate itself in time of war. Although the guardian of values in two worlds, in August, 1914, the church gave itself almost wholly to the national cause. In spite of this espousal of the war it exercised a powerful influence for the conservation of spiritual values. The vast conflagration was more than human minds and hearts could understand at the time, and in the midst of the maelstrom the church often found itself confused. Thousands of genuinely religious men within and without the priesthood served their country without hatred in their hearts for those beyond the barbed wire. Others fell into the general nationalistic psychosis of hatred and revenge. The church visible was a part of the present world order and entered with it into the travail of 1914 to 1918.

Throughout the warring nations, the church justified war and encouraged the people to put forth their greatest efforts of sacrifice and of valor. Ministers, priests, and students preparing for the ministry went to the front as chaplains and as soldiers in the ranks. The ethical right of the ministry to do active military service was hardly questioned. The minister was a part of the fatherland and as such had the right to give his life for his people. Those who were hindered by the merciless requirements of the Sermon on the Mount were severely criticized.[1] They were regarded as dreamers who lived apart from the hard realities of life.

[1] See Heinrich Scholz, *Politik und Moral,* Perthes, 1915.

An insidious war-theology took form. Texts were sought from the Old Testament, and the sixth commandment was laid aside. War was conceived as a great iron broom sweeping the world and cleansing it from the vices of effeminacy. War was God's judgment on a civilization grown weak, the first Horseman of the Apocalypse let loose to redeem mankind from feebleness and sin. The initial response of nobility and heroism, so prominent in every army, gave color to the claim that war stimulated the highest moral feeling and unselfish service. To those whose lives were divided, frustrated, and ineffectual, the centering of their efforts in one imperative purpose brought a sense of peace and coherence.

As the war continued for months and years, few would have ventured to speak of its blessings and the immense majority realized that it came as a scourge upon the backs of every people. Skepticism and bitter disappointment prepared the way for widespread pacifism. Thousands became attracted to new eschatological and pre-millenarian movements which had spread over the Old World and in certain sections of the New. Religious feeling found a new attitude toward the world, looking upon it as the sinful opposite of God's Kingdom. A new antagonism grew up between the energies and ideas of men and God's will for the world. God is known better because He is no more easily identified with the aims of the present system, and He is better understood because He is conceived as totally different from the world and opposed to its ways. In the field of the literature of discouragement and defeat, one discovers an apocalyptic strain such as existed among the hard-pressed Israelites in the period when the Book of Daniel was written. A similar movement flared out brilliantly in art and literature in the period of Poland's great tribulation and became known as Polish Messianism.

In several centers large groups were formed to spread pacifist ideas among the people and to insist upon general disarmament. Organizations appeared in Sweden and Holland and Switzerland. After the war these Continental organizations issued statements similar to the one published by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and declared

war as utterly opposed to the spirit of Christ. Pacifism took strong hold of many religious groups in England with British Quakers in the forefront. The combination of the social emphasis in religion plus the tradition of individual liberty created a favorable atmosphere for pacifist thought in Great Britain. The Copec Conference in Birmingham, England, in 1924, was animated by a similar spirit.

Pacifist groups and bodies representing the official churches are unable to find common ground. The former insist on radical opposition to all war and decry military service and war preparations. They would replace compulsory service with the colors by a period in the civil service, at least for conscientious objectors. The churches in general, being so closely connected with the life of the nations, especially those which are established, share the feelings of insecurity still prevailing in most countries and dare not advocate complete disarmament as long as Europe resembles the forge of Vulcan. The bogy of Bolshevism is still potent and prevents many churches from advocating a permanent naval and military holiday. The presence of many discontented minorities in the new states furnishes them with a qualified justification for standing armies. The Franco-German problem, the Balto-Polish-Russian problem, the Balkan problem, the Eastern Question, the Danzig Corridor, all loom up as storm centers, any one of which may give rise to an armed conflict overnight.

Insecurity has led even the churches to consider war as an *ultima ratio* which becomes necessary when all other attempts to preserve peace have failed. A theologian like W. Hermann believes in war as an unavoidable necessity as long as we have to do with human nature.[2] Tröltsch was so convinced of the justification of the last war that he wished every one of his words might be a gun directed against the enemy. A goodly number of other theologians including Baumgarten, served in the army with the same conviction as to the justice of the war as had their French and British colleagues.[3] They considered pacifism as the sickness of a beaten people, as *défaitism,* against

[2] W. Hermann, *Ethik,* p. 186.
[3] Rolffs, *Politische Ethik, in Christliche Welt,* pp. 42-44, 1923.

which a sound and religious patriotism has to defend the very existence of the state. Their opinion was shared by the great majority of German church people, that the acknowledgment of the state includes the right of the state to make war if its supreme interests are menaced. War or no war means to them state or no state. Even a pacifist like Doctor Rade is not strictly anti-militarist, but goes with his people in time of need. He remarked: "It is hypocrisy to say that one is willing to support the State and to deny its right to war in the same moment." [4]

The pacifist idea is not deeply inrooted in the minds of the Christian people throughout Continental Europe, but has found numbers of adherents not only in the neutral countries but also among the German-speaking peoples. The bleeding wounds of Germany, France, Austria, and the warring Balkan nations have not yet sufficiently healed for men to trust each other fully. Among the great powers, pacifism has made more ground in England than elsewhere. When in the Copec Conference in Birmingham a speaker defended the idea that there were some wars which were fought for right and civilization, and asked whether Lord Kitchener did not fight such a war in the Sudan, the Assembly answered with an overwhelming and tremendous "No!"

Norman Angell's prophecy that any future war would be an immense economic loss has been justified in the eyes of every one. The desire for peace is universal in Europe, but the feeling of general insecurity, the certitude that the pre-war methods of diplomacy and national egoism persist, prevent even sincere friends of international good-will from supporting without reservation the claims of radical pacifist Christian groups.

Advocates of a more Christian international order look with regret upon the fact that Christian people throw in their lot with the nation when the interests of the state and the teachings of Christ come into conflict. In the inevitable decision between Cæsar and Christ, Cæsar continues to win the victory. Thousands of thoughtful Christians in Europe look with hu-

[4] M. Rade, *Christentum und Friede.*

miliation upon the decisions which they made in the years 1914 to 1921. It is also true that faith in international good-will and reconciliation, and even in the final realization of a strong and adequate League of Nations, received a shock when the Armenian people were abandoned without the protection promised them, when powerful armies invaded foreign territories in the midst of peace and set up irritating administrations, when many of the new states, after years of experience, have refused friendly treatment to their minorities. The experience of millions in peace as well as in war is calculated to engender hatred. The Christian conscience of Europe is threatened with an unbearable dualism. On the one hand it accepts the claims of Christ for a peaceful world, and on the other it feels compelled to obey the commands of Cæsar in the midst of a dangerous and warlike world.

Friends of peace within and without the church are not idle. The present generation, by the sufferings of four years of fighting in the field, understands more deeply than they did in time of peace the historic message of the Quakers. No other groups of the church universal have been of such transcendent spiritual help to the wounded soul of Europe. Here and there in every communion are groups of internationally minded Christians who are seriously working for peace and reconciliation.

The efforts within the church have largely consisted in the work of the Quakers, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, and in the national committees of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. The first Assembly of the Alliance met in Constance on a tragic day at the end of July, 1914, in order to consider what Christianity could do to keep peace, but it was too late. On the very eve of the conference war broke out and all further efforts were hopeless.

In 1915 the same group met in Berne for further efforts and immediately after the war the Alliance convened in Holland and proved that at least for this little group of representatives of many European nations love was stronger than hatred. In a scene of profound exaltation and humiliation, former ene-

mies clasped each other's hands and united in the Lord's Prayer. These meetings have been continued in Switzerland and Denmark. Although on more than one occasion strong antagonism between nationalist groups has sprung up, an international Christian public spirit is steadily growing. The endowments of the Church Peace Union which financed these conferences enabled a large number of Christian leaders from all churches and countries, who would never have met, to come together, foster friendly relations, and form a Christian Council of Peace.

A solution of many problems which rest upon the countries of Europe cannot easily or quickly be found, even when an agreement among Christians of all countries has been reported. The political influence of these groups is often too weak to change the policies which lead to conflict, especially in countries where the groups form only a small Protestant minority, as in the cases of France, Bulgaria, Italy, Jugoslavia, and Poland. They are confronted with the familiar question, "How can the ideal become real in a material and relative world?" Where is the point in the machinery of our social and political life where ideals become effective?

For most church leaders throughout the world, the League of Nations appears to be the most promising means for serving the cause of international peace. For the first time in history, an adequate attempt is being made to settle international conflicts in a peaceful way, and to eliminate the causes of war and effectively carry on the social and humanitarian tasks which confront all peoples. A distinguished European recently remarked: "It will remain to the everlasting merit of President Wilson to have given a body to an idea conceived long ago by illustrious minds by inserting it inseparably in the Treaty of Versailles."

As this treaty was considered by the Germans as a *Friedensdiktat* and not as a genuine peace treaty, the League so inextricably woven into the treaty has found many obstacles in its way. As the last few nations finally come within its ranks, it will achieve a fuller measure of authority. The League has been forced to make its way slowly and this process will con-

tinue through many years to come. It has safely refuted the accusation that it is to be a super-state to which nations must yield their national prerogatives. The Old World is still far from a perfect political organization.

As the result of the teaching of illuminated groups on the social and international significance of Christ's teaching, both within and without the church, organizations are springing up in Europe to combat war with debate and persuasion. To stop this movement the authorities in many sections have forbidden open discussion of pacifist news. Certainly no other generation has seen such widespread philosophical questioning regarding man's right to make war against his neighbor.

Chapter XVI

THE CHANGING THEOLOGICAL FRONT

Cardinal Manning once remarked to Hilaire Belloc, "All human perplexities are ultimately theological." The political and economic systems, the literatures and cultures of peoples and nations, are based upon their conception of God and of life's supreme ends. Many situations apparently remote from theology, if traced back, are dependent upon a particular view of God. What men think and dream to-day, they will work out to-morrow in studio, parliament, factory, and church, and in turn their thoughts and dreams will be influenced by existing conditions in church and on factory and farm.

Out of the sufferings and humiliations of the Jewish race in the centuries immediately before Christ came Apocalypse and Messianism. If the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof were not to win in their generation, victory would come another day. Thought was deeply colored by economic and political situations. From the monarchical and paternalistic, from the radical and socialistic concepts of society, from the economic and political life of the last century, modern Europe finds her theology deeply colored. The idea of God handed down from generation to generation has been amplified or narrowed by the pre-war happiness of peoples, by the blazing furnace of 1914 to 1918, the years when honest men ate bitter bread, and by the period of reconstruction and inflation following the Peace.

Theology in the nineteenth century was characterized by the controversy between orthodoxy as represented by confessionalism of a Lutheran or Reformed type and the modern offsprings of Hegelian philosophy. In this conflict Germany played a leading part; indeed, German has become the *lingua franca* of European theology.

Between these two extreme tendencies were middle currents, derived for the most part from Schleiermacher, uniting traditional theology with modern methods.

Ritschl emphasized in a new way the historical character of Christian faith, severed it from metaphysical tendencies, and stressed its ethical values. The personality of the historic Christ was resolutely placed in the center of his theology and at the same time the right to employ modern critical methods in the study of Biblical texts was safeguarded. The school of Ritschl had a very marked influence on modern theology in many countries and embraced a number of prominent theologians including J. Kaftan, Haring, Wernle, Harnack, and A. O. Hermann.

In the field of Biblical studies the methods of modern criticism have penetrated all camps. Even the conservative wing as represented by B. Weiss, Zahn, Schlatter, and Godet, would no more accept the verbal inspiration of the Bible as the older Protestant orthodoxy held it. Seeberg could go so far as to say that "no prominent theologian would still defend" the old theory of verbal inspiration. Giving up the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the text did not, of course, mean abandoning the idea of the personal inspiration of the sacred writers. Application of critical methods to the text of the Bible, as for instance in the works of Wellhausen, Reuss, Julicher, Holtzmann, Hatch, Sanday, Carpenter, Loisy, Cheyne, and Robertson Smith, has immensely enriched modern knowledge of the outer form of the sacred text, its linguistic tradition, the relationship of the leading ideas, historic conditions, the environment of the Biblical facts, but it has led also to an historical relativism, and in its extreme forms even to the denial of the historicity of Christ.

The development of theology in the last century was more or less parallel in the whole of Europe. If Germany with its eighteen theological faculties had an undisputed leadership, especially in critical and historical studies, other countries also made their contributions. In textual studies, Great Britain had Westcott, Hort, Lightfoot, and Flinders Petrie; Scandinavia produced distinguished men in the field of liturgical and

historical studies, Holland and Switzerland in Bible history and socio-religious ideas, and France in systematic theology.

The present situation on the Continent is still largely characterized by the antagonism between orthodox and liberal theology.

I. *Orthodox or positive theology.*

Present Continental orthodoxy may be spoken of in a double form. The first is in reality a confessionalism which keeps to its historic denominational expressions as shaped in the Augsburg Confession for the Lutherans or in the Heidelberg Catechism or the Canons of Dort for the Reformed theology. The second form is an uncritical and Pietistic Biblicism which takes the Scripture as the sole and sufficient basis for all religious convictions without theological systems or confessional declarations.

Lutheran and Reformed theology, representing the two main currents of Continental theology, vary from strict denominational orthodoxy to extreme liberalism. A synthesis between the maintenance of the fundamentals of the historic doctrine and the assured results of modern methods is represented in modern positive theology, whose strongest exponent is Seeberg in Berlin. There is no doubt that Continental orthodoxy has shown more elasticity in the interpretation of the old doctrines and in the assimilation of critical methods than American orthodoxy. Americans at the Lutheran Convention of Eisenach were frightened by the way in which "their European brethren had administered the heritage of the Reformation." The criticism of this development as expressed in that Convention mentioned five religious tendencies in modern religious life against which a reaction was declared necessary: disappearance of the use of the old Confessions of faith, weakening of the boundaries between the natural and the supernatural, the acceptance of evolution, the social gospel, and Christian unity.

The Lutheran World Convention rejected these tendencies and declared itself as believing in the infallible Scripture as

the basis of all doctrine, and justification by faith as the central element of the Christian message.

On the Reformed side a parallel movement is visible. Small ecclesiastical groups on the Continent still cling to the strictest expression of the Reformed faith in the Canons of Dort and especially to its austere doctrine of a double election. The Reformed principles of the Scripture as the sole basis of faith, the sovereignty of God, the importance of the social implications of the Gospel, the emphasis laid on the law, are everywhere maintained in Reformed orthodoxy. But here also great liberty has been used in applying the principles of modern literary research and in entering into positive relationship with the scientific standards of the time.

II. *Liberal and modern movements.*

(1) *General Characteristics.*

Many liberal theological movements represent a faith which is less dependent on former historic expressions and more inclined to seek a synthesis with modern culture and which cannot easily be brought under one common designation. It would be unjust to identify their characterization "liberal" with "unbelief."

Modern liberalism has inherited from older and more rationalistic forms of liberalism methods of free research in Bible study and history. The text of the Scriptures is considered as religious classical literature, to whose study the same critical methods must be applied as to profane literature. Scholars like Wellhausen, Duhm, and Reuss in the Old Testament, Holtzmann and Pfleiderer and Julicher in the New Testament, historians like Harnack, have developed these historical and critical methods with skill and precision, and it would be impossible to deny their intellectual probity or their genuine religious interest.

In so far as laws of historic science and the logical structure of the human mind are the presuppositions of the claim of Biblical criticism, an element of rationalism is undeniably present in all liberal theology. Human reason is easily understood as the expression of the creative universal Spirit, as a

part and function of Divinity, and the laws of reason are therefore taken as laws of divine truth according to Hegel's thesis that the unconscious divine mind awakens to consciousness in the human mind. The principle of the immanence of the Divine Spirit in the human mind underlies most liberal theological thinking, a conviction that God has revealed himself in human history, in human reason, experience, will, and conscience. A Christian humanism is the natural consequence of this philosophical conception. The tendency to harmonize religious truth with scientific claims and to enter into friendly relations with the views of modern science and culture based entirely on rationalistic principles is easily comprehensible. The reconciliation of faith and science becomes an ideal in theology.

The supernatural elements in religious history have been more or less eliminated by liberal theology and the moral element emphasized in the Christian message. The Christ of the synoptic Gospels has taken the place of the incarnated Logos in St. John or of the theological system of St. Paul.

Between the two extremes of theological thinking, confessional orthodoxy on one side, and a radical religious rationalism on the other, are manifold forms of theological thought constituting a broad center region between these two extremes.

(2) *The Influence of Ritschlianism.*

A second school, arising from Ritschlianism, laid its emphasis upon Christian experience. Herrmann and Gaston Frommel are its most prominent exponents. Against the claim of rationalism is placed the historic character of the revelation in the person of Christ. His inner moral life is emphasized, while metaphysical judgments are abhorred as a contamination of religion. Sacred history is the authentic field of revelation and here the inner life of Jesus is the important factor, not the intellectual conceptions by which the church tried to express the significance of His historic personality. In the inner life of Jesus the majesty of a supernatural power gets hold of the human heart and conscience and reveals itself in redeeming love. This revelation is utterly unattainable by any logical or psychological effort of man and is not an object

of any philosophy or metaphysical reflection. The Christian religion consists in the humble submission of the human heart and will in faith and obedience to the divine reality revealed in the mind and heart of Christ. Only in the spiritual personality of Christ is revelation accessible. Tradition, rational doctrines, and mystical feeling are untrustworthy.

(3) *The School Influenced by the Study of Comparative Religion.*

A third and very influential school started from a comparison of different religions and the discovery that Christianity was paralleled by certain traditions of other religions, or that these contained, independently, very similar elements of religious thought and life. A careful comparative study attempted to show how various religions influenced each other and how non-Christian or pre-Christian elements had migrated into the field of Christian thinking and had been transformed by Christian theology. If one had to admit that other religions, like Buddhism, had similar elements of religious truth as Christianity, the problem had to be considered whether the claim of Christianity to be the absolute religion could be maintained. It participated then in the relativity of the whole religious life of humanity. The historic investigation undertaken by a group of scholars, including Gunkel, Deissmann, Bousset, Soederblom, and Reville, showed that the young Christian faith was imbedded in the syncretistic religious situations of the Near East and that it was extremely difficult to discover the nucleus of its original message. The relation of faith and history became as enigmatic as that of faith and reason.

In this respect an effort was made, especially by Eucken and Tröltsch, to interpret history as well as reason, as a manifestation of the Universal Spirit filling history with a content of concrete life which is kept in order and controlled by *a priori* categories in religion as well as in other fields of the human mind. Christianity is thus brought into close contact with other religions and cultural life in general, but it loses its character as a divine and special revelation. It is still the highest expression of the religious consciousness, but has lost its absoluteness and transcendency. Christ, as compared with others,

is for this school only the highest, truest symbol of divine redemptive personality.

(4) *The Irrational or Supra-rational School.*

In a fourth movement there is a current of thought leading away from the former rationalism and stressing the irrational element in all religion. This irrationalism, pretending that reason is incapable of grasping the highest religious values, has deeply penetrated into modern theology. Religious conceptions are then more or less symbols and are inadequate to explain divine reality. The dogma is therefore composed of two elements: its deeply religious content, and its historic form, which is changeable and relative. This irrationalism is apparent in the last decades of the nineteenth century in the French school of Symbolofideism represented by Sabatier and Ménégoz, who declared that we are saved by our faith, by our confidence in God's grace, independently from our assent to doctrinal formulæ by which this faith is expressed. The saving power of faith does not depend upon theological expression, but upon the sincerity of devotion to God. In France this school has contributed noticeably to the slackening of theological tension and to the formation of a central ecclesiastical group which has tried to combine intellectual probity and liberty with the maintenance of evangelical piety.

In Central Europe this irrationalism found its strongest expression in the works of Otto and Heiler in Marburg and in a revival of a new theology of mystical creative experience as represented by Bonus, Johannes Müller and Baron Hügel in England. Otto's recent book, *Das Heilige,* points out that the irrational element in the tremendous mystery of God's power and incomprehensibility is never lacking in the conception of the Divinity as found in higher religions. Otto called his book a study of the relationship between the rational and the irrational element in religion. It prepared the way for the emancipation of liberal theology from a mere intellectualism and moralism.

(5) *The Socio-religious School.*

A fifth movement is making an attempt to synthesize modern theology with the social need of the day.

Modern Christianity toward the end of the last century was inevitably compelled to face the problem of the rising labor movement, and all it represented in thought and action. Hitherto Christian churches had spent their energies in evangelism, in foreign and inner mission, and many kinds of charitable enterprise. In the midst of this peaceful activity the churches failed to adequately address themselves to modern paganism in the form of capitalism, militarism, nationalism, and industrialism which had grown to power. Because of its historical policy of aloofness, the Christian Church as such made little appeal to the average laborer. Christian leaders like Kingsley, Denison, Fallot, Wichern, and novelists like Dostoievsky, had foreseen the coming danger. Men of practical ability like Werner, Müller, Bodelschwingh, started innumerable philanthropic works and tried to meet social need with increased charity, service, and Christian sacrifice. But only a few men saw that Christianity was confronted with a huge social crisis which could not be solved by charitable works, but only by a new and deeper conception of human need and the acceptance of the social consequences of the Gospel.

The proletariat, attracted by a new terrestrial messianism, turned its back to the Christian message and considered the church as a class-institution too closely connected with the state and the governing classes. Stöcker, Naumann, Blumhardt, and others knew that socialism would never come back to Christianity and that therefore the church must seek out socialism and enter into friendly understanding or at least into a serious discussion of social problems.

Blumhardt, Kutter, and Ragaz, however, saw behind the revolutionary movement of socialism a spiritual force seeking to build up a régime of justice, human solidarity, and service outside of the church. Christianity was menaced with the loss of its special responsibility, and socialism with losing the religious meaning and aim of its own movement,—or, as Wilfred Monod put it: "The Christians recognize a Messiah without messianism and the Socialists a messianism without a Messiah."

This religious socialism succeeded in showing that the social

problem was not a social class problem, but a religious problem which could not be solved by increased social activity or inner mission or evangelization or by building up a new socialistic culture. It was a signal for a crisis in Christianity and in the whole of European and world culture. It was the revelation of the absolute helplessness of man, even of the Christian Church, to find a way out from the present chaos by its own means.

Growing insight into the nature of the social problems made acute in the World War, prepared the way for the newest theological movement on the Continent, the theology of crisis.

(6) *The Theology of Crisis.*

After the first disappointing experiences with social Christianity in practical work, a small group of Swiss theologians held that the difficulty of finding an understanding between socialism and Christianity was more than a merely practical social problem. They considered this situation not only as a judgment on a Christianity which was too easily satisfied with present conditions in state and society, but also as a stricture on its underlying theology. Social Christianity in their eyes had betrayed God to the world, the revealed Gospel to worldly necessities, to have lost in adaptation to a scientific naturalism the sense of the absolute in God, and the Christian insight into the eternal tension between sin and grace.

This movement of thought sprang up in Switzerland and Germany and is spreading like wildfire throughout the Continent. It is of immense importance because of the power and influence it is having especially over large sections of idealistic youth who feel frustrated by the devastating effects of the war. In it, the aversion of the present generation from the spirit which led to war, becomes a genuine spiritual revolution. The leaders of this movement are a small group of Reformed Swiss theologians, Professor Barth, now in Göttingen, Germany, Professor Brunner in Zurich, and Rev. Thurneysen. They are seconded on the German Lutheran side by Professors Gogarten of Jena and Bultmann in Marburg.

This new theological movement, often called a theology of crisis, should not be considered as a new school, but as a criti-

cism of every theology. It is a protest against the *Zeitgeist* of a whole century of theological thinking as expressed since Schleiermacher in a theology of immanence, a protest against the identification of God's aims and nature with the best in our ethics and religion,—in one word, against "humanism" and its expression in what is called *Kulturprotestantismus.* It constitutes a revolt against religion submerged in culture. Not synthesis but crisis is the slogan of the new movement.

Theology no more than the whole economic and social order can escape the present crisis. Civilization suffers under a general skepticism, an absence of absolute norms, and a universal chaos, due not only to disrupting forces within modern life, but, not least, to Christian theology which gave up, according to the criticism of this school, the absoluteness of Christianity. The attempt to find a synthesis between culture and religion during recent years has been inimical to the absoluteness of Christianity. Theologians must point out the deep and necessary antagonism between culture and the Gospel. Even religion as man's response to God cannot be identified with the life from God, but is nothing more than the finest and most sublime element of culture itself.

The theology of crisis directs its attacks equally against the relativism of liberal theology and the traditionalism of orthodoxy. It criticizes the historical and psychological tendencies in modern theology which are reducing the divine message either to its historic manifestation or to subjective psychological facts wherein the supernatural objective element can no more be discovered.

Pietism is likewise rejected as being based on a similar subjective element, namely, feeling, leading man to indulge dangerously in his own interior life, to enjoy himself in what is most sublime in himself instead of being placed in the objective presence of God.

Orthodoxy is rejected because of its intellectualism and the directness of its statements. *Finitum non est capax infiniti,* and it is not possible to express God's being in specific concepts or in visible forms or symbols. God is a hidden, an un-

known God, and it does not behoove men to approach Him with human formulæ in an undue intimacy.

We touch here the center of this theology, the transcendency of God. He cannot be found in nature or in human experience. God is "the totally Different," unattainable even to the highest moral or religious efforts of men. To speak of *unio mystica,* as in mysticism, is blasphemous. Mystical theology is the same utter impossibility as natural or historical theology. Even Christian faith in so far as its human elements are concerned, its historic knowledge or its piety, does not contain the adequate elements of His condition. God is the Impossible for the human mind, and all human subjective piety is no more than the bubbles rising in the shallow swamp of human existence. "Religion expresses no more than the necessary psychic reaction on the creative action of God, and the pandemonium of human piety is dangerous to the God-seeking soul."

In one place only this hidden God became manifest: in Christ. But even in this sole revelation he remains the transcendent God. Even in the historic life of Christ, in so far as it is merely an element of history, God touches the human soul only as a tangent touches a circle. In so far as the life of Christ forms a part of history, it is quite as problematic as everything in history. All the attempts to find in the life of Christ the glory of the invisible God are futile. God never becomes an element of history.

In Christ's death and resurrection we have not so much historical facts as a mysterious paradoxical irruption of divine forces, the apparition of the new eon which sets an end to the old one. The Cross is only the last word of despair which can rise from this world, the manifestation of its utter impossibility. In letting His Son die with the terrible cry of dereliction from the Cross, God reveals Himself as One who is eternally silent and hidden. His means of revelation are not power and glory, but silence, death, the Cross. The last word of history is despair, judgment.

Barth is the leader of the movement and is stressing the Calvinistic aspect, whilst Gogarten in Jena is a representative

of the same tendency on the Lutheran side. Brunner is the systematician, and Thurneysen tries to apply this new theology to practical work in the parish.

A large number of the younger theologians in Central Europe are under the spell of this new dialectic theology. A periodical is published with the significant title *Zwischen den Zeiten* (Between the Times) and has produced a sizeable controversial literature.

It would be too early to assign a definite place to this new movement in the history of modern theology. However, a few observations on the present situation can safely be made.

It is a vigorous reaction against a too easy synthesis of religion and culture whereby spiritual realities have been debased to the plane of the cultural spirit of this world, to naturalism, evolution, historical and psychological explanations.

Again it is a theocentric theology placing salvation by faith alone in a central position, a philosophy of theonomy instead of autonomy, emphasizing the imperative character of the Divine Spirit. The effect is an appeal to the church to focus all her efforts on the preaching of a Gospel of personal allegiance to God and to stress the spiritual more than the ethical side of religion, with a corresponding diminution of social service activities.

It is a theology of faith which leaves liberty for the necessary critical, historical, and scientific researches chiefly because they have only a secondary value when compared to objective truths of religion accessible only to faith. This position may yet reveal a way of escape from the present tension between orthodox and liberal theology in so far as it admits the right to investigate the Bible as a literary document, and at the same time defends objective truths as expounded in orthodox theology. American fundamentalism may find here a very suggestive parallel.

The theology of crisis is eschatological and denies the effectiveness of even the highest human efforts to achieve the Kingdom of God on earth, relying upon a catastrophic irruption of divine power to redeem the world, after judgment is pronounced at the end of the present age. The true nature of

the Kingdom cannot be grasped in terms of moral transformation or social betterment, but in the dialectic opposites of judgment and salvation.

The theology of crisis is of course paralleled by an ethics of crisis. If God is everything and man nothing, human effort loses its reasonableness. Already in certain quarters youth is asking the question, Why not life instead of morals? Ethics which emphasizes human effort is accused of expanding the human ego. The theology of crisis seeks to build, in place of the ethics of the human will, an ethics of grace stressing forgiveness as the source of the Christian life.

On the other hand you have men like the Bishop of Birmingham, the late Dr. Rashdall, Professor Bethune-Baker, Major and Emmet whose approach is by way of Evangelicalism. For such a heterogeneous body it is difficult to cite any one publication that expresses their views but the report of their annual conference will reveal that divergence of view as well as their affiliations on the one hand with liberal Anglo-Catholics, and on the other with liberal Evangelicals. Fundamentalism with its insistence on verbal infallibility of the Bible and on certain theories of the Atonement has practically no following in England where the theological interest lies rather in the general question of authority and the Incarnation rather than in the Atonement. This in itself is sufficient to indicate the mediatory position of Anglicanism between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, for Protestant theology centers on the Cross, while Catholic theology centers on the Incarnation and its corollary the sacraments.

It follows that the question of reunion in England is most interesting. The Catholic element in the Anglican portion prevents an easy reunion with the other Protestant bodies for the same Catholic element is more eager for reunion with Rome than with the Nonconformist bodies. The Lambeth proposals and the conversation with various leaders of the free churches were carried on almost simultaneously with conversations of an unofficial character with Cardinal Mercier and other leading Roman Catholics at Malines. Probably the hindrances to reunion are more historical than theological. On the one

hand Nonconformity is conscious of the inferior position inflicted upon it in the days of the ascendancy of the established church and, on the other, the reëstablishment of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England by Pope Pius the IX created a vested interest which proved in 1895, as it has since, an obstacle to reunion with Rome. The Roman Catholic Cathedral of Westminster would fade into insignificance beside the Cathedral of St. Paul's in the event of the Anglicanism attaining the position of a Uniat church. Roman prelates in England will not soon help vote themselves out of office.

The central problems of Continental theology of the last decades had their repercussion throughout Europe. The theological movement in Great Britain, although experiencing strong influences from Continental theology, has a somewhat different aspect.

The different theological tendencies in Great Britain are more closely connected there than on the Continent with the different churches. Three theological groups are prominent, the Anglo-Catholic party, the Evangelicals, including the Nonconformists, and the movement represented by the modern Churchmen's Union. In the first two parties there is a latent split between the liberal and the fundamentalist elements. In Great Britain the struggle was less a controversy between science and religion, which, contrary to the American situation, is dying down in Europe, than a conflict between history and religion, which makes a reinterpretation of historic Christianity and theology unavoidable. In this connection, Gore remarked, "It is impossible in any way to withdraw the historic basis of Christianity from the freest and frankest criticism."

The Church of England has always been roomy enough to include very different theological parties and the Protestant churches of Great Britain, especially of Scotland, seemed to serve as a bridge between European and American Protestantism by harmonizing Continental scholarship with Anglo-American Evangelicalism and piety. Modernism in these different churches is represented by an effort to discover a new theological synthesis consistent with the data of historico-critical research. It is based upon evolution in science and on

critical historical method. Alongside of the traditional problems of Anglican and Protestant theology has arisen, especially under Methodist and Quaker influences, a new social theology which found its focus in the work of the Copec Conference in Birmingham in 1924. It is interesting to note that some of the leading Anglican divines who have concerned themselves with social questions come from the Quaker stock.

A. American observers owing to natural sympathy and understanding of Evangelical and Nonconformist theology are apt to overrate its importance in England. In fact, this school of thought has been steadily on the wane and has more obstructive than constructive power: *e.g.,* the opposition to the proposed revision of the prayer book. Most of what is vital in the traditional Protestant theology finds expression in a liberalized form in such bodies as the Student Christian Movement where men like Dr. Glover, the author of *The Jesus of History,* and Dr. Maltby exercise great influence. There are even among the Free churches some like the so-called Free Catholics, led by Dr. Orchard who seem destined to play the part of Newman and Pusey in the Free churches.

B. Anglo-Catholicism is particularly difficult for outsiders to understand. It is something very much more than a return to medievalism. Though having its origin in the Oxford movement it has for the most part followed Newman rather than Pusey and Liddon. The decisive date was the publication of *Lux Mundi* when Bishop Gore showed that it was possible to abandon the rather obscurantist attitude of Pusey and Liddon and to demand an accommodation with scientific criticism without abandoning his claim to the title Catholic. Bishop Gore to-day is rather honored as a pioneer than followed as a leader. His mantle has fallen on a group of younger men among whom are E. G. Selwyn, R. A. E. Rawlinson, Will Spens, Father Wilfred Knox, Professor A. E. Taylor, whose recent joint publication, *Essays Catholic and Critical,* shows a very significant advance on *Lux Mundi.* The essayists acknowledge their debt to the author of *Lux Mundi,* a book which exercised upon many of them a formative influence and still has a living message. English theology has been con-

strained to reinterpret many theological concepts during the generation which has elapsed since *Lux Mundi* was first published. Many thoughtful men have been led by the spectacle of an impoverished Christianity to a keener appreciation of the supernatural element in religion, and to a renewed interest in Catholic unity and authority. The idea of solidarity has taken on an equal importance with the idea of continuity as a necessary element in church life. The cortical movement, which already existed in *Lux Mundi,* has been allowed to continue with unabated vigor in bringing to light the origins of historic Christianity.

This group of liberal Anglo-Catholics who might almost be called Modernists owe much to Tyrell, to Loisy, and the Continental irrational or supra-rational school, as represented by Otto in *Das Heilige,* and to the less extreme theologians from France. None the less they can lay claim to originality. In their attempt to reconcile the historic creeds and organization of Catholicism with modern thought they often make quite astonishing concessions, which must clear them from any charge of obscurantism or traditionalism.

C. The modern Churchmen's Union draws its membership from two quite different sources. On the one hand, there are men like Professor Kirsop Lake and Foakes-Jackson who approach Modernism from the historical point of view of traditional Catholicism. On the other, a new social theology has arisen in Great Britain, especially under Methodist and Quaker influences, which is claiming an increasing interest from all church groups. This theology has made a particularly valuable contribution in interpreting the social implications of the Christian religion. A manifestation of power of this idea occurred in the Copec Conference in Birmingham, 1924.

The starting point of English social theology is the affirmation that the solution of the problem of modern civilization is not to be found in education in itself, or in the power of an idea, or in mere church work, but in Christ, in a living Person who is the authentic revelation of the creative and redeeming God and the incarnation of His love. The idea of the incarnation is particularly important in English, and espe-

cially in Anglican theology, and has been treated as the main dogma of Christian faith, as for instance in the movement for the World Conference on Faith and Order. The incarnation is considered not only as the interpretation of the appearance of Christ on earth, but also as the leading principle for the moral and social transformation of the world through the power of the Divine Spirit.

The Copec Conference declared that our social efforts can only be continued when we believe that the moral and social betterment of mankind is a part of God's will and that such a belief gives the strongest impulse to social work and "involves all the possibilities of real progress in human history." Christianity, although believing that God rules the world for his own transcendent ends, is therefore "sympathetic to the idea of creative evolution. For the same reason Christianity is incurably romantic and impenitently utilitarian."

The social theology of Copec is therefore far from that pessimism which dominates the newest forms of Continental theology. "To regard the world as evil is to advocate a rigid asceticism, or perhaps an unbridled licentiousness; to find in it nothing but the operation of an inexorable machine is to lose the incentive to effort and to resign ourself to despair. Only if we find the Gospel of Christ consistent with and corroborated by the facts of life, can we insist on His claim to our loyalty and enter the service of His Kingdom with joyful hope." The Copec Report states that its "aim is to demonstrate that Christian faith gives the vision and power essential for solving the problems of to-day and sees in this faith the stimulus and the guide to social reform. . . ." But the Kingdom is morally conditioned, the Christian society being responsible for the gradual appropriation of the will of God. Although the apocalyptic aspect of the Kingdom is hereby not excluded, the antagonism of this conception, as compared with that of Continental theology, is obvious. Whilst the latter would not attribute to any human means the power of transforming a world of sin, the Copec Report adds that "the religious vision of what ought to be as God's will, contains the real potencies of a new social order."

European theology is no longer exclusively concerned with the study of history, of the Bible, or of the church and its dogma. An immense historical and linguistic literary work has been done during the last century, and much of it may be considered as final, although constant alterations of the results in details will follow. Modern theology has given up some of its ultra-radical or critical views and has come back in some respects to a more conservative conception of the Bible. The linguistic foundations for the exegetic work are now laid and the ground-plan for a historic conception of Christian life and thought will probably remain constant in its essential elements.

The theologians of the Old World no longer give as large a place to apologetics. Theologians understand better than when they were under the influence of Hegelian philosophy and natural science, that theology founded upon the sole fact of faith can vindicate its validity upon the basis of the divine revelation in Jesus Christ. Theology has become more self-conscious and aware of its own powers. No longer does it feel the compulsion to draw on philosophy, psychology, and science to any such degree as formerly. The days of certain problems are gone. Modern groups in theology influenced by socially minded leaders focus their attention upon the idea of the Kingdom of God, its nature, its coming, its individual and social consequences. The messianic message of Jesus can no more be confined to the sphere of the individual.

Theology has rendered an inestimable service to European Christianity in showing that the Christian life cannot be fully realized in practical philanthropy or in subjective needs, or feelings, but in obedience by individuals and society to the ethical and spiritual teachings of Jesus Christ. The quality of political and social institutions, of art, literature, and religion, depends on what men believe concerning the divine life and purposes. "All human perplexities are ultimately theological."

Chapter XVII

THE RELATION OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC CHURCHES TO EACH OTHER

Across the dinner tables of Europe one often hears the statement that from a military point of view France won the war; from the political, England; from the economic, America; from the cultural, the Jew; from the racial, the Slav; from the religious, the Roman Catholic Church. In common with nearly all such generalizations, exceptions could be made to these claims, but there is enough truth in them to cause the serious student of European culture to reflect.

The Reformation cradled in Switzerland spread rapidly across Holland, Scotland, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, to the countries around the Baltic, and later became the predominant Protestant type in the American colonies. Even in Spain and Italy the Reformation had a strong influence. By the year 1558 there were at least 400,000 Protestants in France. In many countries it suffered a setback from the efforts of the Catholic Church to regain lost territory.

To combat the inroads of Protestantism, the Council of Trent, 1545-1563, laid down the principles of the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuit Order was founded in 1540 for the express purpose of fighting the heretics and revivifying ancient Catholicism. A special organization, the *Congregation de Propaganda Fide* was founded in 1622, whose mission it was to bring back "the erring sheep from incredulity and heresy to the true faith." The result of these efforts since the middle of the sixteenth century has been a favorable strengthening of the Roman Catholic position. Poland and Bohemia were largely won back, as well as large sections of Hungary, once predominantly Protestant.

After the Thirty Years' War, from 1618 to 1648, and in

spite of the heroic effort of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to save Continental Protestantism, the first phenomenal advance of the Evangelical faith was arrested, and even the most sanguine Protestant historians admit serious losses to their cause. At the time of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, Protestantism ruled the Northern countries—the north of Germany, the Scandinavian and Baltic states, Switzerland, Holland—and large sections of Great Britain. Catholicism was principally dominant in the southern and eastern sections of Europe—Spain, France, Italy, and in the Hapsburg monarchy. In the face of persistent work and intermittent special efforts by both confessions, very little has been done to change this situation. Conditions have remained static until the post-war period.

Several reasons stand out clearly for Catholic accretions since the Great War. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the German Empire, the strongest bulwark of Protestantism in Europe, has been defeated; this has been interpreted as a defeat of Protestantism itself.[1] Secondly, a strong Catholic state, Poland, and several smaller nations with Catholic sympathies, have come into being. A third reason may be seen in the strong organization of the Catholic Church, with its central chancellery, with its international background for financial support, its diplomatic corps, and its disciplined hierarchy in executive control of the Church of Rome. A fourth cause may be discovered in the psychological *milieu* of post-war times; peoples were sick of war and found spiritual rest in the strong and authoritative arms of a church which claimed to be divinely established and infallibly right. A fifth cause has been the mystical resources of the Catholic Church.

Mysticism has always made a strong appeal in times of great social and spiritual readjustment. Something in the nature of a mystical movement has touched many of the most enlightened countries of Europe. It is abroad in literature, drama, and art. The esthetic attraction of liturgical splendor is evident in the work of Rilke and Georg in Germany, Maeterlinck in Belgium, Claudel in France, Papini in Italy, and

[1] P. L. Landsberg, *Die Welt des Mittelalters,* Cohen, Bonn, 1923.

Chesterton in England. There is little doubt that within millions of human hearts to-day there exists a need of rest, decorum, and beauty, which so far the Protestant Church has not been able to satisfy in its somewhat barren worship.

Present statistics are not wholly reliable, but certain authorities give for the world's population 265 million Roman Catholics as against 210 millions belonging to different branches of the Protestant faith. The Catholic Church claims 190 million adherents in European countries at the present time, and the Protestants 108 million.

France, with her 39 million inhabitants, is presumably a strong Catholic nation, but not over 10 million of them have any connection with the church. Of her 36,000 Catholic parishes, nearly 12,000 are without priests. In every diocese, 150 to 200 parishes are without a curé. Italy numbers more than 34 million Catholics, and the countries of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire number 33 million Roman Catholics and about 5 million Uniats. Germany has about 24 million Catholics and Spain 20 million, Poland 13 million, Belgium 7 million, Portugal 5 million, Ireland and the Catholic population of England a total of about 5 million, Holland 2 million, and Switzerland 1½ million. There are also small scattered Catholic minorities in other countries. The following table shows the increase in each confession during the last century:[2]

	1800	*1865*	*1910*
Total European population	125.5 millions	205 millions	287 millions
Catholics	89 "	137 "	178 "
Protestants	33 "	63.5 "	102 "
Percentage Catholics	71.0 per cent	66.6 per cent	62.0 per cent
Percentage Protestants	26.0 "	31.0 "	35.6 "

These figures show that in relation to the total population the Catholic population has decreased roughly 9 per cent, while Protestants have increased 9 per cent. The explanation of this is the fact that population in German countries, which

[2] *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, p. 1615.

have been dominantly Protestant, has increased more rapidly than in the Catholic countries, especially in France and Ireland. During the last fifty years Protestantism has gained 54 per cent, while Catholicism has gained 30 per cent.

Statistics regarding conversions are difficult to obtain and do not add much to the significance of these figures. The Catholic office for statistics in Cologne, Germany, states that in 1919 there were 7,829 and in 1920 9,351 conversions to Catholicism in Germany. In the latter year, 1920, not less than 44,633 people left the Catholic Church, of whom 11,017 entered the Evangelical Church. This would indicate a slight gain on the Evangelical side. This gain in Germany is represented largely by the immigration from rural Catholic districts into the industrial regions, where they come under Protestant influence. The pastoral letter of the German bishops in 1919 complains that 75,000 people are being lost yearly to the Catholic Church.

As far as actual conversions go, Protestantism still shows some gain. Even Catholic writers like P. Reichman recognize that the number of apostates is larger than the number of converts. Of the total number of Protestant conversions, about 60 per cent are from the Catholic Church, which receives about 40 per cent of its converts from Protestantism.[3] The *Osservatore Romano,*[4] in an article entitled "La crisi religiosa in Germania," stated that 7.295 per cent of the German Protestants had been converted, which would mean 2,800,000, a figure which is manifestly exaggerated. In 1921 an alarmist volume was published in Germany entitled *Christentum und Gegenwart,* which reported that one-third of the population of Germany was already Catholic and that it would need only a little effort to make the whole country uniformly obedient to the Roman See. The Catholic organ *Germania* constantly declares that there is a strong movement in Protestantism toward Rome.

A detailed study of conversions has been made by Professor Schneider, but it must be kept in mind, in using such figures, that the churches are informed only about those persons who

[3] *Deutscher Protestantismus in Katholischer Beleuchtung,* Zscharnak, Saemann, Berlin, 1924.

[4] Number 231/32, 1921.

declare openly their new church affiliations, and one cannot know exactly how many have left the churches without any formal declaration. Under (a) in the following table, the number of persons who have left the Roman Church to enter Protestant churches is given, while under (b) the number of Protestants entering the Roman Church is given:

	1910	*1914*	*1915–18*	*1920*	*1922*
(a)	8,296	7,372	5,236	11,017	10,176
(b)	4,779	4,484	3,870	8,565	7,084
Surplus on the Protestant side	3,517	2,888	1,366	2,452	3,092

In every year the surplus has been on the Protestant side.

The rigorous application of the *Codex Juris Canonici* to mixed marriages since 1918 has favored the Evangelical faith, as many Catholics who marry Protestants do not like to pledge themselves to rear their children in the Catholic Church. The proportion between the two confessions in Europe, as a whole, however, is not greatly affected even by the movement away from Rome which has manifested itself in Bohemia and other sections of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The church situation is directly reflected in the educational policy of the different nations. It is a fact well-known to educators that Protestant countries are much in advance of Catholic countries in regard to the widespread dissemination of learning. The following table shows the percentage of men between twenty and thirty who are unable to read or write in the various countries specified:

1-5%: Germany, Denmark, Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Great Britain, Eastern France, Netherlands, Cisleithan Austria, Finland.
6-20%: Ireland, Western France, Belgium, Northern Italy, Latvia, Esthonia.
20-40%: Middle Italy, Greece, Hungary.
40-60%: Spain, Southern Italy, and parts of Jugoslavia.
More than 60%: Parts of Spain, Portugal.

The Balkan countries and Russia, which are largely adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church, exhibit the same characteristics.

All political parties in the new states, from both Catholic and Protestant wings, have made vigorous efforts to improve the situation in regard to illiteracy. European Catholic parties formerly were traditionally opposed to compulsory education by the state. Since the war there has also been a noticeable increase in the number of German Catholic youth coming forward for a higher education. Before the war the Catholic young men and women in Germany coming to the universities were in the ratio of Catholic numbers to the total population, but since the war there has been a noticeable increase.

Commercially and industrially, the Catholic nations of Europe have not been as well organized as the Protestant nations. This does not, however, preclude the fact that the Catholic Church itself, from a financial and diplomatic point of view, is the most powerful ecclesiastical organization in the world.

Although traditionally opposed to socialism, which in Europe has been anti-clerical, the Catholic parties in general strengthen themselves by some political alliance with socialistic parties when they cannot command a majority. In Germany, for instance, governmental power for years has been conserved by the alliance of the Centrist and Socialist groups. In Latvia the political influence of such a combination caused the state to give back to the Roman Church the old Evangelical Jacobi Church, which has been Protestant since 1522.

Don Sturzo, the present leader of the Italian Catholic party, has brought about a distinct increase of political and social influence for the Church there, although at present the party which he gathered together has been dissolved by the ukase of Mussolini. It must be said, however, that although the Fascisti will not brook a strong Catholic party, they have maintained a sympathetic attitude toward the Pope and declared the Church sacrosanct, along with the monarchy and the army.

In France, under the leadership of General Castelnau and other prominent military men, and because of the heroic action of the members of French congregations during the war, the Catholic Church has done much to retrieve its loss of prestige

due to the laws dispersing the congregations and separating church and state.

A running fight against the Clericals has been carried on in France since the beginning of the Third Republic,—first by Gambetta, and then by Jules Simon who expelled the Jesuits in 1880, followed by Waldeck-Rousseau with his laws against monastic orders, and still later by the ruthless measures of Emile Combes, and by the disendowment of the Catholic Church by M. Briand. Then came the closing of the monasteries by M. Millerand and the affront to the Pope by the failure of President Loubet to visit the Vatican when sojourning with the Italian king. This conflict, which has so long typified the attitude of democracy in France toward the papal See, bids fair to be liquidated.

Pius XI and Gasparri are achieving a *rapprochement* with the French whenever possible, a papal nuncio is in Paris, and a French ambassador was stationed in Rome until recently recalled by the Herriot ministry. Because of its commitments and history, no Labor government is apt to change face suddenly and become friendly to the Vatican, and the *Bloc de Gauche* is adamant against friendly relations with the Pope. But it is important to note that there is a growing Catholic sentiment throughout France and a recognition of her historical attitude toward Catholicism, not only in the homeland but in Algiers, Tonkin, Cochin-China, Turkey, Syria, and Palestine. She has been a Catholic champion in all these areas and influential Catholics are urging her once more to resume that rôle.

The revival of interest in the Catholic Church in France has not been due solely to diplomatic achievements at Rome and in Paris. Nothing could be further from the truth. A large part of the renewed enthusiasm felt for Catholicism has come through the splendid behavior of over thirty-two thousand of the Catholic clergy of military age who were called to the colors with their respective classes when the Germans struck for Paris. Many of these served in the ranks as common soldiers. The personal valor of these men on all fronts did more to restore respect for their calling than decades of conventional

mission work. Out of the total number of priests and seminarians mobilized for active service, over four thousand six hundred were killed and over ten thousand were mentioned in dispatches. Such heroism and devotion brought well-earned popularity to the clergy among the common people and accounts for the change of view and amelioration of such rabid anti-clericals as M. Clemenceau and M. Jonnart, the latter serving until recently as ambassador to the papal court. In addition, the success of several outstanding Catholic generals, as Foch, Lyautey, Gouraud, Pau, Castelnau, Mangin, Franchet d'Esperey, Weygand, and others, has had its influence in commending the religious faith these men so earnestly espoused. It must be remembered that France is only one-third Catholic and that the Protestant pastors and theological students performed equally distinguished service with Catholics, but the military facts must nevertheless be noticed in accounting for a decided quickening of interest in the Catholic Church in France.

At the same time that the Pope is taking advantage of the friendly attitude toward Catholicism in France, he has achieved a better understanding with the Italian government than has existed at any time since the law of the Italian Parliament in 1871 taking away the temporal power of the Pope but leaving him spiritually independent, which law was flouted by the aged Pius IX, who thenceforward became voluntarily the "prisoner of the Vatican." Diplomatically the papal power has emerged since the war to the most powerful position it has occupied in a century, a single head of millions of Catholics throughout the world, communicating its political and spiritual desires through a thoroughly organized and amazingly obedient system. Protestantism has not now and never has had a comparable diplomatic position.

In the newly created state of Poland, Catholicism—although officially it is only *prima inter pares* with the other communions such as the churches of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions—is nevertheless for all practical purposes the state church of Poland. Now, as in the past, to be a Pole is almost synonymous with being a Polish Catholic.

The Roman Church in Hungary is distinctly in the most favorable position, while in Austria a priest, Mgr. Seippel, has been head of the government and Catholicism is still the established faith.

A strong movement toward Catholicism is at the present time developing in Scotland, especially on the Clyde, where large numbers of Irish Catholic workmen have congregated. The Catholic Church in England, too, has received much help and comfort from the Anglo-Catholics within the Church of England. The presence within its ranks of Hilaire Belloc, Gilbert Chesterton, and other Englishmen notable in art and letters has done something to influence many to favorable thought in its behalf.

The old Baltic Russian provinces, now transformed into the new states of Latvia and Esthonia, have strong Catholic minorities which by their alliance with the Socialist and Nationalist parties exert a greater influence than their actual number would indicate, while Lithuania is overwhelmingly Catholic. In Latvia 40 per cent of the population is Catholic and in strong sympathy with the Catholic state of Poland. The Vatican has not been slow to strengthen these minorities by erecting nuncial sees and concluding *Concordats* with them.

The Old Catholics, who split off from the Roman Church in 1871 as a protest against the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope, maintain cordial relations with Protestant churches. They have fifty parishes with fifty-four priests in Germany. These parishes are divided between Prussia, Baden, Hesse, Bavaria, and Wurttemberg. Theological teaching is given in a seminary by four professors, as well as in a small seminary where future priests can undertake their graduate work. Furthermore, the Prussian state maintains a special professorship in the Faculty of Philosophy at Bonn whose aim is to develop Old Catholic theologians. Prussia gives an annual subsidy of 48,000 marks to the Old Catholic bishop and the state of Baden a subsidy of 24,000 marks. As these allocations of money are far from being sufficient, the Old Catholics of Germany endure heavy sacrifices in order to assure the life of their church,

which, moreover, maintains a group of sisters of charity who take care of the poor, the widows, and the orphans.

The Old Catholics have their headquarters at Bonn and maintain eight branches in different German cities.

Old Catholics are dispersed in many countries. Switzerland has 31 parishes with 50 priests and a membership of 40,000; Berne has a member of the Faculty in Theology; in Austria there are six parishes and 13 priests, with a membership of 25,000; in Czecho-Slovakia there are six German parishes and 12 priests, and in addition one Czech parish with one priest and a total membership of 20,000; in Holland, where Old Catholicism seems to have a firmer hold, there are 28 parishes with 32 priests and a membership of 12,000. In addition, the church maintains a seminary and a newspaper in the Netherlands. In Jugoslavia a church was founded at the end of 1923 with 12 parishes, 40 priests and a membership of 50,000. Switzerland has three newspapers, Austria one, and Czecho-Slovakia one, which are devoted to Old Catholic interests. The total Old Catholic membership for the whole of Europe numbers some 177,000.

International perplexities remain to vex the papal Secretary of State in spite of the diplomatic ascendancy of the Vatican which has been such a notable aspect of the post-war life of Europe. France, under Herriot, recalled her ambassador from the Vatican and a hostile attitude in Lithuania led to the recall of the legate Zecchini. In Czecho-Slovakia the national trend of the churches has produced a tension, and the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the birth and death of Jan Hus, to which the Vatican objected, brought about the recall of the papal nuncio.

Jugoslavia at the present time is entangled in a struggle with the Vatican about the treatment of the national Hieronymus Institute in Rome, which was founded by Serbs.

Catholicism has made headway in Holland in recent years, a progress which has been marked by no little dissension. Holland showed by her census of 1921 for the first time in modern history that there had been an increase in the accessions to the Catholic Church, thereby strengthening the

Church's political power. The majority of ministers in government office for the last few years have been Catholic, in this predominantly Protestant country. Another interesting development in the religious life of Holland has been the founding of the Catholic University in Nymwegen and the Eucharistic Congress which took place in Amsterdam in 1924. The Catholic party, directed by Mgr. Nolens, at that time organized a successful missionary activity. In response to this action by the Catholics, Protestant forces in the State Parliament refused credits for the maintenance of the Dutch legation at the Vatican.

The *Concordats* which the Vatican has concluded with several states have obviously strengthened its political influence. Dr. Doehring of Berlin, in the Prussian Lutheran Synod, characterized these diplomatic *rapprochements* as a well-planned attempt to take advantage of the political difficulties of new states in their period of weakness. The immediate effect of these *Concordats* is generally felt to be a weakening of the authority of state, especially in school questions. In Bavaria, for instance, the *Concordat* between the state and the Vatican led not only to absolute liberty of the church within the state but even to a limitation of the rights of the state in the nomination of university professors and to conditions according to which only Catholic teachers might be elected to public schools; it being compulsory that their teachings be along Catholic lines even in the study of history. By these stipulations the whole school was, as a matter of fact, handed over by the state to the Vatican and the school as a public state institution has more or less ceased to exist, whereas formerly all shades of religious opinion had a proper and adequate representation. An effort on the part of Cardinal Gasparri, papal Secretary of State, to conclude a *Concordat* with Bucharest similar to the Bavarian agreement provoked strong opposition on the part of the Rumanian Orthodox clergy, who claimed the right for the state to exert full authority in all matters concerning Catholic churches.

The educational theory of the Catholic Church has led directly to many difficulties. Catholics insist that all education

should be religious; that ideally all teachers should be Catholics and teach from the point of view of that Church. The Protestant view of education, on the other hand, both in the United States and in Europe, is that education should be a training of the young in secular studies, with such religious training as is the common possession of all communions or by special religious training by specially prepared teachers optionally received by the children of different denominations or confessions, or that religious instruction be given at home or in the church and Sunday school. To this point of view the Catholic Church in all lands is unalterably opposed. In Europe, as in America, she follows the consistent policy of training the young as her principal line of effort. Wherever the Catholic Church goes, the same dissension regarding the school question arises.

In the Rhineland, as in Bavaria, the vast majority of the teachers are now Catholics. In 1900 the proportion of Protestant teachers in comparison with Catholics was in accord with the population itself, two to one. To-day it is one to five. Numerous new Catholic schools were founded in the period of great reorganization following the war, while the Evangelical churches, unable to draw sufficient funds from countries where sound currency still prevailed, had their work brought to a standstill. In the Rhineland alone, not less than twenty Evangelical boarding schools had to be closed.[5]

A strong increase of Roman orders and charitable works is everywhere manifest. The activities are not only along the lines of developing a better spiritual leadership for the parishes, but also for missionary endeavors with the avowed purpose of converting Protestants, as is the case with the Winfred Alliance, and for the organization of spiritual exercises for non-Catholic peoples. The methods to apply for such conversions have been discussed by the Jesuit Ginnecken in *Stimmen der Zeit*. He gives to Catholic missionaries the advice to begin in high quarters, in aristocratic circles, and with literary propaganda, and not to neglect the masses who may be reached through open-air preaching. Certain it is that Rome is mak-

[5] *Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 46/1924.

ing a strong bid for cultural as well as spiritual leadership. In 1924 not less than 88 Evangelical institutions had to be closed in the whole of Germany, while in 1919 more than 700 Roman ministerial and charitable or educational institutes were opened.

The number of Episcopal sees, apostolic legations, and nuncios has been considerably increased in Europe since the war. In the year 1921-1922 the number of bishops mounted from 839 to 874 and the apostolic vicarates from 197 to 206.[6] In 1923 there were three new archdioceses, 14 dioceses, an apostolic delegation, 7 vicarates, and 7 prefectures.[7] In some Protestant churches these notable advances are regarded as the natural growth in Catholicism to meet the growth in population and to be normal advances due to the birth of the children into the Church. In other quarters it is considered as a well-directed movement of the Counter-Reformation, with a newly avowed aim to take advantage of the general disorientation of affairs in Europe. Official utterances of such papers as the *Osservatore Romano* would seem to corroborate this impression. This paper complains of the organization of an Evangelical school in Rome as an "offense to our Lord" and the *Schildwache* remarks: "Confessional peace is not possible and not desirable. We are not allowed to respect any heretic system." During the *Anno Santo,* 1925, the Vatican formally canonized the great adversary of the Reformation, Canisius.

Up to 1900, a silent agreement seemed to exist between the two great churches of Europe to respect the *status quo* in the confessional situation. Since then the Winfred Alliance, founded in 1920, has been pursuing the avowed aim of converting Protestants, one of many evidences of a changing policy. The effect is felt in a heightened tension between the two groups. Recently claims have been prosecuted for the transfer of ancient state dominions and secularized church properties to Catholic orders. The *Osservatore Romano* wrote triumphantly in 1920 that the day was not far distant when German Protestants would submit to better spiritual guidance

[6] *Act. Apost. sedes.*
[7] *Ibid.*

and return to the Church of Rome, which was the only trustworthy leader in the present chaotic times.

Catholic writers assert that the individualistic and subjective spirit of the Protestant Church is largely responsible for the overthrow of thrones, authorities, and the social, moral, and religious ideals of the day. Protestant disintegration into so many churches and groups reveals a striking weakness in contrast to the admirable unity of the Roman Church.[8] It has no common voice, while the Roman Church, with its hierarchy and its new *Codex Juris Canonici,* has two unparalleled instruments working for unity of thought and action. Many Catholics point with pride to their own strength and to the weakness of Protestant divisiveness, subjectivism, rationalism, and cultural pride, and are convinced that the work of Luther is near its end.[9]

Protestantism before the war, especially in its Lutheran form, lost contact with the mass of the workers. In the bourgeois society of the higher middle classes, the higher cultural fruits of religion were emphasized; the miner, the factory operative, and the transport worker were forgotten. This aristocratic type of religion left the masses largely without a spiritual fatherland. The wider implication of Christ's teachings, what has come to be known as the social gospel, had little place in the Church's life and thought. Even a religious prophet like the late Danish leader, Kierkegaard, declared individualism to be the truest form of religious life. Many followed the example of the English poet, Coleridge, who once remarked: "I belong to the holy and infallible church of which at the present time I am the only member."

Three features are mentioned by the Catholic writers, Guardini, Leipert, and Muckerman, as indicative of the rebirth of spiritual life in the Roman Church. They point first of all to the increase and growing influence of monastic orders upon the modern mind.[10] Large numbers of monasteries which had been abandoned to secular usages in Central Europe have

[8] *Deutschland und der Vatikan,* Saemannverlag, Berlin, 1924.
[9] *Germania,* I. 1. 24.
[10] *Katholizismus und Protestantismus in der Gegenwart.* Hermelink, Perthes, Gotha, 1924.

been rebuilt or bought from their former private owners and opened to monks and nuns. This is especially true among the Benedictines and Jesuits. In Germany alone, where, because of the low rate of exchange, these efforts seem to have been concentrated, there has been an increase of 11,354 monks and nuns. Between 1919 and 1923 there were put into use 481 new monasteries and stations. Another authority declares that an increase of 711 monasteries has taken place since the year 1919. This increase is due only partly to the fact that many German Catholic missionaries have been forced to leave their mission fields and return to the fatherland. The hurry and chaos of to-day have prepared the way for a new understanding of the beauty and repose of the *via monastica.* The need for contemplation and meditation regarding the deep philosophical problems raised by the war and its immense suffering is visible in all centers, Protestant and Catholic, and for many minds undoubtedly the Catholic spiritual exercises bring a large measure of comfort.

A second feature in the Catholic resurgence is the new Catholic youth movement. The romance and the love of metaphysical culture, with its mystical prayers and music, have strongly attracted large numbers of youth to the Roman Church. A movement among young men and women called the Quickborn is gathering together those who are sensitive to this spirit and the movement has found a prominent leader in P. Romano Guardini. A new form of organization connects this youth movement more closely with the Church than the former secular Catholic Society which embraced men and women of all professions. It is significant, however, that in spite of an increased interest of youth in Catholicism, in Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, France, and Germany it is almost impossible to recruit able young men for the priesthood.

A third feature of the Catholic revival is the strength of the Eucharist movement and the present liturgical reform. The Eucharist is being placed more and more in the center of the cult, and a new and deeper sacramentalism is being developed which is ridding itself of former magic tendencies. The symbolism of the Eucharist, and the experience of the Cross which

lay behind it, is being more closely applied to the problems of everyday life. Monasteries such as the Maria Laach in the Rhineland, the Beuron in Southern Germany, and that of Utrecht in Holland, have become centers of this movement. The liturgy is becoming understood as a sacrifice which is the deepest expression of the union of God and man in their mutual sacrificial efforts. In the liturgy the Church binds together heaven and earth, including all the participants, in a new mystical fellowship. Special Eucharistic weeks are held in which an attempt is made to give the masses a new understanding of the beauty of the old ritual and the hidden meaning of old Christian elements in the divine services.

In modern philosophical and psychological currents, there is a noticeable trend against the individualism and moralism of Protestant philosophy. There is a sharp contrast between Kant, who has sometimes been considered as the philosopher of the Reformation and Idealism, on the one side, and Thomas Aquinas on the other. Even among Protestants a strong movement has broken away from Kantianism, Subjectivism and Idealism, and is emphasizing the necessity of final objective truths and metaphysical realities.[11]

According to Catholic writers Protestantism can be the religion of the élite only. The majority of the masses are incapable of rising to the height of personal religion. The Protestant Church has no sense for the *commune misère.* Abbé Brémond remarked: "The Roman Church knows better what is in man and she acts according to that insight." For the abbé, Luther and Calvin are Angels of Darkness and Protestantism is a deeply "pessimistic and inhumane religion suffering from a chimeric unrealism. By putting human experience in place of the objective realities of religion it has ruined faith."

The general current of ideas, literary, political, and philosophical, has favored the Catholic movement and has placed the Protestants in an unfavorable position. The Catholic *complexio oppositorum,* its marvelous faculty of combining and

[11] See *Vom Ewigen im Menschen,* by Max Scheler; *Der Katholische Gedanke,* Przywara, Theatinerverlag, München, 1922.

synthesizing multiform and heterogeneous elements of life and thought into a single homogeneous system, has appeared to answer better the needs of certain phases of modern life than the variety and individualism of Protestantism. Protestants, however, can readily recognize many advantages and even a certain religious revival among the Catholics without discouragement. Time alone will show whether the present Catholic advance means a serious danger to Protestantism or whether it is simply an attempt to satisfy a widespread desire for security and rest. People who in time of stress and strain join a church only for comfort and security, a church which claims to be of final authority, will later, when they have regained their critical faculties, question the presupposition of that church. In the end only that which is congruous with truth will prevail.

Some Protestants take this new activity on the part of the Roman Catholic Church as the signal of a *Kulturkampf,* a fight of the modern state and its culture against ultramontanism and clericalism. In France, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugoslavia, the radical, anti-clerical and nationalist parties are eager to begin such a battle as soon as their political power will permit of it.

There are also distinctly Protestant organizations, such as the *Evangelischer Bund* in Germany, animated by a fighting spirit and founded for the express purpose of consolidating the Protestant forces. The great majority of Continental Protestants, however, would deplore the two great communions entering the lists. The beauty of the Catholic cult, the mystical elements within the venerable liturgies, the august and magisterial splendor of cathedrals, and the discipline of a unified and obedient hierarchy have all made their appeal to Protestant hearts and minds. The Protestant mind to-day is no longer to be regarded as remorselessly critical, but rather as observant and sympathetic to the Catholic system of faith and order which centuries of taste and reverence have constructed. Many Protestants would rather consider themselves not as opponents to the Catholic way of life, but as collaborators in the furtherance of common social, moral, and spiritual interests which are menaced by the sordid cults of materialism

and nationalism. On the other hand, many broad-minded Catholics would admit that the Reformation had a beneficent influence upon the Roman Church itself, that it awakened her energies and caused her to reëxamine her teachings and methods, for through it the Catholics rediscovered the Bible and have placed Christ and His teachings in a more central place in their worship. A spirit of conciliation and understanding on the part of Protestants and a freedom from claims of infallibility on the part of the Roman Church would do much to alleviate the situation.

But in this effort to understand and appreciate, the Protestant is now and again confronted with Feodor Dostoievsky's astounding symbolic scene in *The Brothers Karamazov,* in which the Grand Inquisitor confronts Jesus in a squalid Spanish town during the burning of a hundred heretics. The people are drawn to Jesus. He blesses them and heals their sick, and even raises a maiden from the dead. The Grand Inquisitor bids the guards arrest Him and bring Him to the dungeon of the Holy Inquisition. In the night the Inquisitor comes to the cell and demands: "Art Thou He? Do not answer. You came to trouble our work. I shall condemn you once more to be burnt, and the masses will poke coals glowing around the stake." The Prisoner remains silent and the Grand Inquisitor continues: "You have rendered everything to the Pope. Therefore do not come again or trouble us any more. You have not even the right to add anything now to what you once have said. You have left us the job and given us the right to bind and to loosen. You promised heavenly bread to the multitudes, but they strive to satisfy their hunger with earthly bread. Three powers conquer the revolting conscience, Miracle, Mystery, and Authority. But you declined them all when you were tempted by the great and terrible Spirit. You did not know that man rebukes God when he rebukes the miracle. You did not lift one single soul to your height. We have corrected your mistakes and have built upon Miracle, Mystery, and Authority, which were only your temptation. We are not with you, but with Him who tempted you, and have accepted from Him the Power and the Sword. We rule the

masses and make them happy by fear and innocent plays. We improved what you did and to-morrow I shall burn you." The Grand Inquisitor awaits His answer impatiently, but in the ghastly silence Jesus approaches the old man and kisses him silently on the lips. This is His only reply. While the lips of the Grand Inquisitor are quivering, he opens the door of the dungeon and addresses Jesus: "Go and come nevermore,—hear, nevermore!"

Dostoievsky has expressed in this scene the revolt of the spirit and conscience of man against the organization of the Divine by any human agency. Many Protestants, especially those adherents of modern dialectic theology, would find in this scene the best and deepest expression of their judgment on the Roman Church,—in fact, their lasting attitude toward any church, including their own, namely, that as helpful as churches are, they are only accessory to the communion between God and man.

One difficulty which stands squarely in the way of any thoroughgoing intellectual and spiritual reconciliation is the fact that although the Catholic hierarchy no longer hurls anathemas against Protestant bodies, nevertheless the Vatican has never recalled any of its former anti-Protestant encyclicals, syllabi, catechisms, or condemnations of Protestantism as a perilous and execrable heresy. Catholic writers such as Denifle, Grisar, Bedier, Brémond, and Goyau, in their descriptions of the Reformation era, even go so far as to deny to this movement and its leaders any religious quality. The catechism edited by Pope Pius X in 1914, and made compulsory for religious instruction in the entire Catholic world, states in paragraph III, 129: "Protestantism or the reformed Religion as it was called haughtily by its founders, is the corollary of all heresies which have been before, after, or shall come to corrupt the soul." This official judgment is not mitigated by some friendly utterances of irresponsible Catholics, who, especially in the field of learned studies, are making a sincere effort to understand the reasons and spirit of the Reformation. Such irenic individuals are all too few. Many Catholic periodicals decry any attempt at friendship or understanding. The Jesuits, who

conceive their task as opposition to Protestantism, reiterate: "There is no union possible. One cannot change two systems, only men can change and pass from error to truth, and vice versa. Therefore the struggle is unavoidable." A former Jesuit General once declined to consider any change with the word: *"Sint ut sunt aut non sint."* The Jesuit Pribilla, one of the leading Catholic writers, says in a controversial discussion: "Even the deepest love for peace and for those professing another belief cannot prevent us from giving our testimony to truth. It is therefore impossible to ask from each other that the two churches recognize each other on the basis of equality. We can recognize what is good in life and on the Protestant side, but we cannot see in Protestantism a form of Christianity which is justifiable. There is only one Church to the exclusion of all others."

If the struggle continues, it must be of another brand than the *Kulturkampf* of former decades. The Catholic Church complains that the struggle of modern culture against the church is going on as before and sees its methods in the secularization of agrarian laws dispossessing ecclesiastics from broad lands, in administrative measures, and in the laicization of state-controlled education. The Evangelical churches retort that Rome is using worldly political means. A judicious repudiation by the Vatican and by Protestant groups of ultramontane claims and of unchristian accusations would be an initial step toward a better understanding.

One helpful element is that in spite of militant agitators in both camps there is an increasing number of Christian men and women, both Catholic and Protestant, who deplore all confessional controversy and are striving for a mutual understanding and tolerance, or at least for an honest presentation of the spiritual claims of each party. There is no doubt that the dignified and adequate way in which the recent Ecumenical Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm treated the problem has strengthened this irenic spirit.

Chapter XVIII

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

Minorities constitute the most inflammable element in the general European situation. Although in some cases religious minorities are of the same race and tongue as the country in which they reside, in most cases religious minorities are identical with ethnic and linguistic minorities, the church problem being inextricably interwoven with the fortunes of these smaller groups. Minorities are divided into two distinct classes—the nationals of a foreign power, and the nationals of the country in which they live—while the protection accorded them may be granted by the laws of the state, or it may be dependent upon international treaties and guaranteed by foreign powers.

Ten treaties directly concerned with minorities emerged from the Peace Conference. These are: the treaty signed on June 28, 1919, between the principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland, placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations on February 13, 1920; the one with Czecho-Slovakia of September 10, 1919, which was placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations on November 29, 1920; the one with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, of the same date, placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations on November 29, 1920; the one with Rumania of December 9, 1919, and placed under the guarantee of the League on August 30, 1921; the treaty of August 10, 1920, with Armenia; Articles 64-69 of the Treaty of Peace with Austria at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on September 20, 1919, and placed under the guarantee of the League on October 22, 1920; Articles 49-57 of the Treaty of Peace with Bulgaria, signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine, November 27, 1919, and placed under the guarantee of the League on October 22, 1920; Articles 54-60 of the Treaty of Peace with Hungary signed at Trianon on June 4,

1920, and placed under the guarantee of the League on August 30, 1921; Articles 140-151 of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey signed at Sèvres on August 10, 1920, which articles will probably be replaced by Articles 37-45 of the contemplated Lausanne Treaty.

Various qualifications for citizenship and the rights, powers, privileges, and immunities of the minorities are fully covered in these treaties, as well as special provisions covering local difficulties as regarding the treatment of Polish Jews, the rights of Moslems in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and the autonomy of Ruthenia within the confines of the new state of Czecho-Slovakia.

After the major peace conferences many undertakings were made between neighboring states in order to promote peace and amity. Austria and Czecho-Slovakia made such an agreement at Brunn on June 7, 1920, and a supplementary Agreement at Carlsbad on August 23, 1920. The Free City of Danzig and Poland in Article 33 of the Convention of November 9, 1920, covered certain phases of the minority situation followed by other agreements in October, 1921. At every meeting of the League Council, minority problems have been discussed and in many cases a satisfactory settlement has been reached.

In Upper Silesia a Minorities Office is being set up with which any one can file a complaint.

One step of immense importance compared to the pre-war status of minorities is the competence of the Council of the League to render a decision concerning any individual or collective petition addressed to it by persons who belong to a minority. Here at last is opportunity for a hearing before a tribunal which in most cases has proven to be a fair and impartial body, free from the inhibitions which would rest upon a similar organization within a state.

The procedure of the League was summarized in a resolution at the conclusion of a report to the Council on September 5, 1923. The resolution stipulates that petitions, to conform to the procedure established by the resolutions of the Council, (a) must have in view the protection of minorities in accordance with the treaties; (b) in particular, must not be

submitted in the form of a request for the severance of political relations between the minority in question and the state of which it forms a part; (c) must not emanate from an anonymous or unauthenticated source; (d) must abstain from violent language; (e) must contain information or refer to facts which have not already been the subject of a petition submitted to the ordinary procedure. Thus the minorities are gradually finding a technique of procedure by which to voice their legitimate complaints.

In spite of the able and sympathetic work of the Council of the League and others of its officials, many glaring abuses remain which are perennial storm-centers in the disturbed cultural and political life of Europe.

The following table of minorities reveals the complexity of the situation and the administrative problems involved for all functions of the state as well as for the churches, each minority representing a baffling maze of racial, nationalistic, political, and religious aspirations.

State	*Total Population*	*Majority Population*	*Minority Population*		
Austria	6.65 Mill.	5.8 Mill. Germans	Slovenes	1. %	65,000
			Croats	0.7 "	45,000
			Czechs and Slovaks	2. "	130,000
			Magyars	0.19 "	11,000
Belgium	7.65 Mill.	3.15 Mill. Walloons	Germans	1.4 "	110,000
		4 Mill. Flemings	Dutch	1.3 "	100,000
Bulgaria	4.6 Mill.	4 Mill. Bulgarians and Macedonians	Turks	6.6 "	300,000
Czecho-Slovakia	13.61 Mill.	6 Mill. Czechs.	Germans	27. "	3,700,000
		2 Mill. Slovaks	Magyars	7. "	900,000
			Ukrainians	4. "	420,000
			Poles	1.2 "	160,000
Esthonia	1.00 Mill.	820,000 Esthonians	Russians	5.8 "	65,000
			Germans	5. "	50,000
			Latvians	4. "	40,000
Denmark	3.38 Mill.	3.28 Mill. Danes and Icelanders	Germans	3. "	100,000
European Turkey	1.05 Mill.	450,000 Turks	Greeks	28.6 "	300,000
			Armenians	24.3 "	250,000

State	*Total Population*	*Majority Population*	*Minority Population*		
France	38.8 Mill.	34.65 Mill. French, Provençals and Walloons			
			Germans	4.4 %	1,700,000
			Italians	1.5 "	600,000
			Spanish	0.6 "	250,000
Germany	58.6 Mill.	56.75 Mill. Germans	Masurians	0.29 "	170,000
			Dutch	0.18 "	120,000
			Wendians	0.17 "	100,000
			Friesians	0.05 "	30,000
Greece	5.7 Mill.	3.9 Mill. Greeks	Turks	17.6 "	1,000,000
			Bulgarians & Macedonians	8.8 "	500,000
			Albanians	1.7 "	100,000
Hungary	7.98 Mill.	6.5 Mill. Magyars	Germans	7.4 "	560,000
			Slovaks	2. "	150,000
			Croats & Serbs	0.8 "	60,000
			Rumanians	0.3 "	24,000
Italy	37.55 Mill.	36.55 Mill. Italians	Slovenes & Croats	1.4 "	600,000
			Germans	0.7 "	275,000
Jugo-slavia	12. Mill.	5 Mill. Serbs 2.8 Mill. Croats	Germans	5.1 "	650,000
			Macedonians	5. "	600,000
		950,000 Slovenes	Magyars	4.3 "	550,000
			Rumanians	0.95 "	100,000
Latvia	1.65 Mill.	1.35 Mill. Latvians	Germans	7. "	100,000
			Russians	6.2 "	91,000
			White Ruthenians	4.3 "	66,000
			Poles	3.4 "	52,000
Lithuania	3.1 Mill.	2.2 Mill. Lithuanians	White Russians & Russians	9.7 "	300,000
			Germans	3.2 "	100,000
Poland	28.1 Mill.	15.7 Mill. Poles	Ukrainians	22. "	6,300,000
			White Russians & Russians	7.4 "	2,200,000
			Germans	7.1 "	2,100,000
Rumania	17.39 Mill.	10.9 Mill. Rumanians	Magyars	9.7 "	1,700,000
			Germans	6.1 "	1,100,000
			Ukrainians	5. "	800,000
			Bulgarians	1.5 "	250,000

Total European Minority Population 30,044,000

Among the larger religious minorities may be mentioned the German Lutherans in the territory ceded by Germany to Denmark; all churches in Italy save the Catholic and Waldensian bodies, the German Lutheran Tyrolese having the triple disadvantage of being a national, racial and religious minority, embracing 230,000 people. Jugoslavia has the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession with a membership of 120,000 mostly German, the District of the Independent Evangelical Slovak Church with 52,000, and the Reformed Seniorate, mostly Magyar, with a membership of 60,000. Rumania has 958,651 Catholics, a Reformed group of 719,000, a Unitarian Church of 74,192 nearly all of whom are Magyars, and an Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession with a membership of 261,751 Saxons, protected by the Treaty of Saint-Germain. Czecho-Slovakia has a Reformed Church of 250,000 Magyars, a German Evangelical Church in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia composed of 110,000 Germans, an Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren with 220,000 Czech members, the Lutheran Church in Slovakia with 400,000 Slovaks, and the Evangelical Lutheran Seniorate in East Silesia with 40,000 Czechs and other groups, protected by the Treaty of Saint-Germain. Poland has the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, Lutheran, with 400,000 members, both Polish and German, the United Evangelical Church in the former German provinces with 350,000 Germans. The Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confession in Galicia of 35,000 Germans, and various other groups, under the protection of the minority clauses in the Versailles Treaty and of a special convention with Germany. Latvia has a large German Lutheran Church recognized by the government and protected by the minority clauses in the Versailles Treaty, enjoying all advantages. In Lithuania the situation differs radically with the Catholic Church in a most favored position and the 60,000 Lutheran and 10,000 Reformed church members suffering serious usurpations of church functions by the government. Fair treatment is guaranteed here also by the minority clauses in the Versailles Treaty. In Esthonia, 78 per cent of the population is within the ranks of the Lutheran Church,

among whom there is a German minority group who have received fair treatment. In Russia, the four millions of Lutherans, Baptists, Mennonites, Methodists, Stundists, and Anglicans have no special treaties to cover them or any constitutional provisions. The Protestant minority in Spain of 15,000 souls is at present tolerated by the government. In Belgium, the Union of Evangelical Protestant Churches with 25,000 members is officially recognized, and the Belgium Missionary Church with 20,000 members and other denominations are recognized to a lesser degree. Austria has an Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confession with 260,000 members recognized by the government and protected by the Treaty of Saint-Germain. These are indications of the complexity of the problem of racial and religious minorities across Europe.

Treatment of minority groups differs vastly in these states. In Jugoslavia, by royal ukase the constituent Church Assembly of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was convened. The Reformed Church was also authorized to call a synod, but has been unable to do so because of an empty treasury. Such permission will enable these churches to draw up church constitutions and organize themselves effectively. In Poland, on the other hand, Evangelical churches are still denied formal recognition, the government obstinately refusing to acknowledge drafts of their constitutions, thereby affording themselves an excuse to ignore their existence and to interfere with their inner life and organization as it pleases. In Southern Poland the Evangelical Church is still under the old Austrian law. In Kroyanten, in the district of Konitz, Poland, a propaganda set in among the Polish Catholic fraction of the municipality and fostered by the head of the Church, with a view to take away from the Evangelical congregation their church. This church was built by Evangelicals and has been owned by the congregation without interruption, and there does not exist the shadow of a legal claim on this church with the Catholics. Nevertheless, by order of the ministry of cults, the congregation was asked to hand over the church to the Catholic Polish congregation on March 16, 1925. This is not an isolated fact

for Poland. On May 8, 1924, an Evangelical church in Netztal, district of Wirsitz, was taken by force of a Polish mob, and only upon the vigorous protests of the congregation was the church restored to its owner by the starosta. One recalls also the affair of the Paulinum in Posen, an Evangelical institution for the education of boys, owned by the National Association for Home Missions. The final adjudication in this affair is still pending. It was made subject to liquidation by the Polish government on the ground of technicalities. The Germano-Polish Mixed Arbitration Court in Paris ordered under the date of March 4, 1925, that the government abstain from selling the property until the court should have taken action on the matter. This injunction of the court was disregarded by the responsible authorities, which proceeded in liquidating the institution as if nothing had happened. In Lithuania the meeting of the regular German Lutheran Synod was prohibited by the police, using a paragraph of an old and antiquated Russian Church statute. In Rumania, the Roman Catholics are included among the religious minorities and at various times the Catholics and Protestants of Transylvania have voiced their grievances in a common appeal to the League of Nations and the world at large.

On the other hand, the involved character of the minority problem may create prejudices, not only upon the part of the governments but also with the minorities, in adjusting themselves to the new political situation. The spirit of loyalty is not created at a moment's notice, especially when great and compact minorities at one stroke are forced to make themselves at home with a people whose ideals and traditions and speech are entirely foreign. Many governments have unfortunately resorted to coercion rather than to follow the path of wise and patient guidance and education. While the appeal to force has been nearly eliminated, except in local reactions with which the government cannot fairly be identified, the governments have adopted a systematic and thoroughgoing method of curbing the particularistic tendencies of their minorities sections under the cover of a comprehensive educational program and of agrarian reform. Although in many cases it is

intended to be a constructive program, by force of circumstances it works in a destructive way with regard to the minorities.

The minority question in Rumania has been in the focus of the whole world through the incessant appeals of the various religious minorities of Transylvania to the League of Nations and the reports of various commissions investigating the situation on the spot. The basis of the battle which is being waged over the school question in Rumania is a different conception of education upon the part of the people and government of Old Rumania and upon the part of the people of Transylvania accustomed to the Hungarian conception. Hungary left the scholastic education of children with the churches, resulting in the confessional school system which at present is passing through a severe crisis in Transylvania. Rumania has not been fundamentally hostile to the confessional school system in her new provinces, for temporarily the number of private and confessional schools has even been increased in Transylvania. The linguistic policy appears to be a comparatively moderate one. Those most affected were the former Hungarian government schools in Transylvania, where Rumanian was made the language of instruction provided that there was a local Rumanian majority. Only government institutions can now issue academic degrees and certificates leading to the higher positions and being recognized by the state. This works a hardship, but it must be remembered that this is not in virtue of specific laws and measures directed against the well-being of the new provinces but in virtue of a scholastic policy firmly established in Rumania and which is that of most countries on the Continent.

Rumania may be cited as an example of how the process of consolidation and pacification has been temporarily halted by a lack of conciliatory attitude on the part of both sides in the conflict, a condition which is gradually being replaced by an atmosphere of mutual understanding. The German element in Transylvania has adjusted itself successfully to the new situation, but the Magyar portion of the population, with their excessive national sensibility, are having a difficult period.

The restrictions upon the public use of minority tongues before the courts and in the administration, which most of the new states have established in direct contradiction to the letter and spirit of the minority treaties, interferes with the life of the religious minorities. Italy, unhampered by the terms of the minority treaty, pushes the Italianization of the Tyrolian schools, including religious instruction, with an iron hand. Poland continues its policy of breaking up the flourishing school system of the Evangelical churches. The children admitted to the comprehensive course of religious instruction which preceded the act of formal reception into the church are found to be peculiarly unfamiliar with the Bible, which was formerly studied in school. In numerous communities the parents are forced to have their children attend the public schools, which are strongly Catholic.

The children of Evangelical families who are thus deprived of any form of religious instruction are rapidly growing in number. A mass of people indifferent to and unfamiliar with their native religion is growing up. Ministers supplement the religious instruction which normally lay in the hands of special teachers connected with the schools. The outlook is not bright for the religious training of children within the minorities of most of these countries. Governmental methods of suppressing minority schools, be they private or public, and substituting the language of the majority, is gradually forcing out instruction in the traditional religion. In Jugoslavia, all German private schools have been closed by order of the government and most public schools in which German was the language of instruction discontinued or the number of classes reduced. Only in large German settlements are minority schools allowed to exist. Even there the school authorities reserve the right to investigate into the children's genealogy, children with Slovenian names or blood being obliged to attend the Slovenian schools. Seven German high schools and colleges have been closed. In the one college established in their place, the Slovenian language has gradually been taking the place of German. Three German Students' Homes have been taken over forcibly by the authorities without any compensation.

The agrarian policy of most of the countries has had destructive effects. Drastic laws dispossessing the landed gentry and land-holding institutions are an instance of measures pertaining to the administrative and political domain which affect the welfare of religious minorities. A large number of the present minority churches lived for centuries on the income from land endowments. When the legislation enacted in the interest of the small farmers took away most of the land property of the churches, both these and the schools usually connected with them were deprived of their support. No remedy has yet been found to meet the losses sustained and to restore the disintegrated schools. This situation is all the more tragic as the losses are not so much the result of a hostile attitude but are often the consequence of measures undertaken for high aims with no specific reference to the minorities as such.

Chapter XIX

FEDERATIVE, COORDINATING, AND RELIEF MOVEMENTS

A notable characteristic of church polity in recent years has been the development of an ecumenical sense through the organization of federative agencies which can view the total situation. European countries, including Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain, have organized federations of churches, some including several different denominations, which are rapidly coming into correspondence and conference with one another and with similar federal councils in America, Japan, China, and Australia. Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary are now considering such federations of all Protestant bodies.

National frontiers and the character of national churches as state churches have been serious obstacles to any attempt at federation, except within national bodies. In the international sphere, Foreign Mission effort and the Y.M.C.A. have pioneered in opening up new ways for closer relationships across state boundaries.

The organization of the Central Bureau for the Relief of Evangelical Churches of Europe in Zurich after the war and the initiation of the Universal Conference on Life and Work held at Stockholm in 1925, were made possible through the development of these relationships.

The Central Bureau is an organization formed to administer relief to the needy churches of the Old World on behalf of all the churches of Europe and America who are able to contribute to its treasury. Its aims are stated to be:

1. To organize, on an international and interdenominational basis, relief work for the suffering Christian churches and institutions of Europe.

2. To further coöperative relations between existing relief agencies in order to avoid overlapping.

3. To be a clearing house for information.

4. To study the best methods for solving the constructive tasks with which European Christianity is confronted.

5. To stimulate in the churches a larger interest and a feeling of deeper responsibility for each other.

The American Federal Council had been securing help for Europe during and following the war and offered its help in developing a larger movement if the European churches desired it. At the suggestion of European church leaders a conference was therefore called at Copenhagen in August of 1922, where, in coöperation with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the condition of European churches was considered, especially in countries where inflation had destroyed the purchasing power of money. A disquieting picture was presented by the report of Dr. Adolf Keller, Secretary of the Swiss Church Federation. To meet the emergency the Swiss Federation of Churches agreed to undertake the formation of a relief organization, on an interdenominational basis, which would adequately acquaint the outside world with European needs and collect funds to relieve the distress, and elected Dr. Keller secretary of the new organization.

The Central Bureau is governed by an executive committee of seventeen members representing the churches of Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the British Isles, and America, which meets once each year to decide matters of general policy. For purposes of immediate executive supervision the Swiss Federation of Churches exercises oversight upon the routine activities of the Bureau.

The Bureau by avoiding overlapping, concentrating efforts, and stimulating coöperation has been enabled by contributing churches to prevent the ruin of many institutions, to save pastors' families from starvation, to further Inner Mission work and recruiting for the ministry. All has been done on an interdenominational basis. Dr. Kapler, President of the German Church Federation declared recently that the activity of the

Bureau was anticipating the realization of the aims of the Universal Conference on Life and Work.

The Central Bureau is taking up many constructive tasks, and at a Continental Committee of the Universal Conference on Life and Work meeting in Berne in 1926 it was recognized because of its ecumenical character as the official agency for its objects.

This Committee has also connected the Bureau with the newly created International Christian Social Institute because of its relationship with all European churches. The creation of the Institute has been considered a measure of first importance, attempting as it does in a scientific manner to create a synthesis between European and American conceptions of the implication of Christ's teachings. It is scrutinizing the social, industrial, and educational problems in the light of Christian conscience and seeking to connect up different national agencies such as the Copec Movement in England, *Christianisme social* in France, the Evangelical Social Congress in Germany, the Institute for Social and Religious Research in America, the Commission on the Church and Social Service and the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of America, together with the International Labor Office of the League of Nations with its immense resources of valuable information. The General Secretary of the Central Bureau was entrusted with its organization. The Continental Conference for Inner Mission at Amsterdam has also entrusted the Central Bureau with special tasks in Russia.

American Lutheran, Methodist, and Baptist churches organized their own relief work and have made notable contributions to the Protestant churches in Europe. Including the funds expanded by Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., McAll Mission, Waldensian Aid Society, Student Friendship Fund, and other organizations, over four million dollars was sent to Europe from 1922 through 1925. Benevolent institutions, relief for ministers, missionary work, church erection, theological seminaries, schools and colleges, recruiting and training new leadership, a religious press and literature continue to make a powerful appeal to the prosperous churches of the West.

One of the most effective agencies for constructive relief work following the war in the church field has been the National Lutheran Council of the United States. This body, founded in 1919, has sent food and cash contributions amounting to $2,162,680 and over three million pounds of clothing to relieve prostrate Lutheran churches of France, Germany, Poland, the Baltic republics, Hungary, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Russia, Finland, and other European states. A far-sighted work has been done in subsidizing many orphaned missions of European Lutheran boards who find themselves in such straitened circumstances that unless help from overseas were forthcoming the whole enterprise would cease. Theological education has been fostered in many centers by timely grants of money for the relief of professors and scholarships for deserving and promising students. The aid of the National Lutheran Council has been a most timely manifestation of sympathy between the church bodies of the Old and New Worlds since the war.

The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work in Stockholm in 1925 was the result of proposals rising simultaneously during the war from several different sections. At the Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in 1916 such proposals were contained in the report of the General Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, and in an overture of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference. In the following year the Archbishop of Upsala and the Swiss Federation of Churches sent out similar calls. At the meeting of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches at the Hague in 1919 such a conference was approved and referred to a committee consisting of representatives of the Swiss Federation, the Swedish Churches, and the American Federal Council.

This Committee met in Paris and asked the Federal Council of America, which had already appointed a committee on Ecumenical Conference, to convene a preliminary and preparatory conference.

This conference met at Geneva in August of 1920 and a

committee was formed in three sections, representing the Continent, the British Empire, and America. This International Executive Committee held three meetings, at Peterboro, England, in 1921, at Helsingborg, Sweden, in 1922, and at Amsterdam in 1923.

The Universal Christian Conference in Life and Work was held at Stockholm in August of 1925. To this memorable gathering all Christian communions were invited. Delegates attended from forty-four different countries and dominions, and thirty-seven different nations, representing one hundred and five different independent churches and denominations. Ten branches of the Eastern Orthodox churches, twenty-five of the Protestant Church in the United States, eighteen branches from the British Empire were in attendance. Every country on the Continent of Europe was represented, save Russia.

The Conference was characterized by humility, sincerity, and vision, beginning with a common confession of shortcomings and giving itself for three weeks to serious study of the churches' task.

The purpose of the Conference was not primarily to promote organic church unity, although such coöperation among the churches of Christendom would undoubtedly facilitate that end. It was not primarily to deal with faith and order, but rather to concentrate the thought of Christian churches on the mind of Christ as revealed in the Gospels toward the social, industrial, and international problems which perplex the life of the modern world. The subjects treated by the various commissions were:

I. The Church's Obligation in View of God's Purpose for the World.
II. The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems.
III. The Church and Social and Moral Problems.
IV. The Church and International Relations.
V. The Church and Christian Education.
VI. The Methods of Coöperative and Federative Efforts by Christian Communions.

A survey in 1926 as to the effects of the Stockholm Conference revealed the fact that it has received the strongest response in Northern and Central Europe. The Continuation Committee has sought connections with all church agencies, the International Missionary Council, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and has stated that it does not undertake to duplicate what any of these agencies are doing, but is rather a coördinating agency with committees dealing with the problems of youth, theological teachers, labor, text books, the social question, and the European Central Bureau.

Another agency which has rendered notable service in the field of coöperative church effort has been the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities, which has aimed to get a hearing for religious minorities in those lands which were reapportioned under the Versailles, Saint-Germain, Neuilly, Trianon, and Sèvres treaties. Most of these treaties bore a clause, "all inhabitants . . . without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion . . . shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals." The purpose of the Committee is to study the situation and problems of religious minorities wherever they exist; to assure the religious minorities of sympathy and aid in securing their rights and liberties; to create public sentiment in the interest of religious freedom anywhere; and to coöperate with committees of a similar nature which have been formed in Europe.

The Church Peace Union, founded by Andrew Carnegie in February of 1914, has carried on a widespread campaign of information on international subjects and through its endowments has made several important European international gatherings possible. Through its initiation the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches was made possible.

The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches was organized in Constance, Germany, in the portentous month of August, 1914, by a group of Christian leaders from the churches of Europe and America at the invi-

tation of the Church Peace Union. The Alliance expressed its purpose to be: "To organize the religious forces of the world so that the weight of all churches and Christians can be brought to bear upon the relations of governments and peoples to the end that the spirit of peace and good-will may prevail, and that there may be substituted arbitration for war in the settlement of international disputes; friendship in place of suspicion and hate; coöperation instead of ruinous competition; and a spirit of service and sacrifice rather than that of greed and gain in all transactions between the nations."

After the war the first meeting was held at The Hague in 1919, since which time a meeting of the whole International Committee, which comprises the officers of the various national councils, or the Management Committee, made up in large part of secretaries, has been convened every year.

The World Alliance is proving a powerful factor in developing a unified expression of the purpose of Christendom. National councils or groups have been organized in Norway, Holland, Hungary, Japan, Italy, Finland, Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, Switzerland, Rumania, Sweden, Esthonia, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Greece, Spain, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Portugal, Lithuania, The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Turkey, China, and the United States.

The Y.M.C.A. with its World's Committee Headquarters in Geneva, and the Y.W.C.A. with its World's Committee Headquarters in London, have carried on a far-reaching program of international understanding and have in addition to their own program for body, mind, and spirit stimulated many other agencies, including churches, to take advantage of tested methods of work with young people.

A complete list of all those church agencies which are making for federation and coördination of Christian effort in Continental Europe would include the International Missionary Council, the famous British and Foreign Bible Society, the National Bible Society of Scotland, the World's Sunday School Association, the World's Christian Endeavor Union, the World's Student Christian Federation, the Salvation Army, the Evangelical Alliance, the World Brotherhood Federation,

the International Congress of Religious Liberals, the World Alliance of Churches Holding the Presbyterian System, the Baptist World Alliance, the Lutheran World Convention, the Ecumenical Methodist Conference, the International Congregational Council, the Lambeth Conference, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the American Friends' Service Committee, the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, American and Foreign Christian Union, American Waldensian Aid Society, and the McAll Mission in France. All these bodies in various ways are rendering a direct and needed service to the churches and peoples of Europe.

The American Federal Council has a special Commission on Relations with Religious Bodies in Europe, of which Dr. Macfarland is general secretary, Dr. Adolf Keller is secretary in Europe, and Dr. Kenneth Miller is secretary in America. This Commission is the background of these federative relationships between America and Europe.

A most significant element in the post-war church situation in Europe is the manifest desire of the Eastern Orthodox churches, through their Patriarchs, to come into a closer relationship with the church bodies of the West. The Federal Council in America has organized an able Committee on Relations with Eastern Churches and is initiating a program of education, visitation and exchange of students. A new desire is apparent among the churchmen of the Eastern Church to enter with other churches into the ethical, social, international, and interracial questions of the day.

If churchmen can avoid exclusiveness and clothe themselves with humility, sympathy, and patience, the coming decades will be notable for increased effectiveness in church endeavor and constructive experiments in the direction of coöperative service.

Part II: The Scope of European Protestant Churches

Chapter I

THE CENTRAL COUNTRIES

Germany

Protestantism in Europe measurably depends upon the strength of religion in the land of Luther. Although the Reformation has struck deep roots into almost every nation and has developed many self-propagating centers and movements, nevertheless a powerful leadership in theological training, missionary endeavor, social service, and church organization continues to come from Germany and Switzerland, the ancient seats of Protestant thought and life. The contribution of German Protestants to theology, hymnology, and to the development of practical philanthropy has been unique.

If the Reformation had maintained its organic spiritual unity the tragedy of its division could have been prevented. Unfortunately the new movement soon came under the control of local princes with the formula *eius regio illius religio.* As a consequence numerous state churches came into existence closely connected with the state.

The *Landeskirchen* or state churches of Germany are not organized upon the basis of the entire geographical extent of the *Reich,* but upon that of the individual states. An Empire Church was the dream of many in 1871, but received little support from those in authority. The German Emperor was *summus episcopus* of the Prussian Church by virtue of his being the king of Prussia, just as other princes were the heads of the churches in their respective territories. The principle of organization was so firmly fixed that not even the erection of the *Reich* nor the revolution of 1918, which eliminated the secular lords of the churches and knitted together even more tightly the individual states, could destroy the continuity of the state principle in the organization of the church.

The constitution of the various state churches varied, allowing for regional peculiarities. While the churches were preserved from being swallowed up in a huge uniform organization, they had the distinct disadvantage that German Protestantism could not speak authoritatively with a single voice.

The religious development of Germany following the Reformation was determined by two sets of circumstances, struggle between the Evangelicals and the Catholics, and the close relationship between church and state. Individualist elements were kept alive, but the atmosphere was not favorable for developing free organizations growing out of individual responsibility, nor to an early development of an ecumenical mind. Nevertheless, German Protestantism owes much to the state, which protected the young Evangelical Church against violent oppression by the Catholic Power, and established Theological State Faculties with a freedom of research and independent studies enjoyed nowhere else in the world.

The church entered upon a delicate undertaking following the war when it set out to organize its life independently, and at the same time conserve the best features of the former tradition.

In addition to the conflict between Wittenberg and Rome, and state and church, another emerged in the last century, namely, the competing conceptions of the church as a national body embracing all the people and the church as a free association of believers on the basis of an adopted statement of faith.

Theology in the last century in Germany as elsewhere was characterized by the differences between liberal and conservative wings. The state has not at times been averse to exerting some pressure upon the various groups in an effort to enforce harmony.

German Protestantism, especially since its federation, is the greatest Protestant body on the Continent. Its numerical power, the religious traditions from the Reformation, the independence and sagacity of its theological studies, the richness of its religious literature, and especially the beauty of its re-

ligious music, and its social and missionary activity have given it far-reaching influence on the Continent, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe. German theologians stimulated and nourished theological thought, not only on the Continent, but also in England and America, which, before the war, had sent numbers of theological students to German faculties.

Protestant Germany has eighteen theological faculties forming a part of the state universities, and nearly thirty-five other independent theological seminaries with approximately 300 professors and assistants and about 2,000 theological students against more than 4,000 in 1914. Germany alone has more than sixty per cent of all theological students of the whole Continent.

The problem of relationship between church and school is at present most acute. Against socialistic and other influences the Evangelicals stand for a religious education of the teachers, for the maintenance of religious instruction in the school, and for the right of parents to exert their influence in this respect.

The German Protestants feel greatly concerned about the modern tendency of the Vatican to make special treaties or *Concordats* with the single states. By the *Concordat* with Bavaria the Catholic Church gained great privileges, not only certain financial advantages, but also the full supervision of teachers and even professors in Catholic universities. The Teachers Association protested in vain against this transformation of the former state schools into a school system under church influences.

Religious life in Germany is going through an acute crisis. A crisis not due to war and revolution alone, although it has been intensified by these catastrophes. The causes of unrest are to be found in the conflict which arose in the last century between an old, moral, and bourgeois culture and the new social world of modern labor movements, gigantic industry, and large towns, which have killed to a great extent the moral and religious ideals of the former generation. Modern science and criticism made religion homeless in the modern world. The cult of reason took the place of faith, class struggle and in-

dividual egotism that of sacrifice and fellowship, passion for earthly things and the pleasures of life that of reverence and respect for a supernatural world.

A materialistic generation has grown up, kept in power by the power of the state and social tradition, while war let loose the demoniacal forces beneath those restricting powers.

Churches were all but helpless against such a vast and sudden transformation of a people. Their too close connection with the state deprived them of that moral and religious influence which a wholly disinterested position could have given them with large areas of the working class. Pastors were considered as instruments of the state and the ruling classes, and church people had never been educated for freedom and independence. In the rapidly growing big towns the parishes including 20,000 to 30,000 souls were insufficiently equipped with pastors and social workers to prepare the mind and heart of the people for the onslaught of new and formidable enemies of faith.

The crisis in Germany began long before the war when she was being transformed from a predominantly agricultural country into a modern industrial state with all the social and economic dislocation consequent upon such vast shifts in occupation and population. A large part of the German people broke away from religion when the trend of German life became materialistic. The generation which grew up in this atmosphere remained outwardly strong as long as the power of the state and prosperity kept them together. But war set free the unveiled passions which have played havoc with the esthetic and spiritual life of the people.

The church is badly handicapped by its past in the present turmoil. Until 1918 most of the churches were organically connected with the state. Ecclesiastical consistories formed a part of the state machinery and supervised church life. Pastors were the instrument of the state as well as the spiritual guardians of the people, so that the people of the church were largely ruled by them. This condition created the impression that the church was governed by the pastors and the ruling classes, which in turn produced widespread indifference.

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND CURRENTS

Small groups interested in evangelism and Christian fellowship have attempted to vivify the church by means of the *Gemeinschaften* or "communions" federated in the *Gnadauerverband* with thirty provincial councils. These groups have their historic roots in the Pietism of the eighteenth century, which have undergone English and American influences.

They seek to make Christ a personal experience in which conversion and sanctification are the main elements. The movement spread throughout Germany in the form of Bible groups and evangelistic meetings. From the theological standpoint, it represents a combination of the older orthodoxy, standing for verbal inspiration, and the new Pietism with its emotional type of religion. The associations formed by this movement became separated to some degree from the national churches, which looked upon them as sects. However, a number have remained in the church and are attempting to awaken her spiritual life. They are accused by the official church of laying too much emphasis on individual experience, of neglecting the church as an institution, and of refusing their share of the burden of solving social and educational problems with which the national people's church is confronted.

Other associations within the church, in a desire for more vigorous parishes, have founded religious societies for different classes of the population. Their activity has reached a large field but has not deeply affected the spiritual life of the people.

An idea is gaining strength that the need of the people is not so much for small groups holding to a peculiar emphasis or for free incoherent associations, as for an ill-inclusive church, one great national institution with room enough for all different manifestations of evangelical life and thought. The objective basis for such a church would be the declaration of faith, together with the new liturgic movement. A High Church movement editing a review, *Una Sancta,* and introducing the liturgic riches of an earlier day, has won the sympathies of many pastors since 1918. A new mystical wave and

a desire for more spiritual authority in the church has added strength to the movement.

Such influences coming partly from the Calvinistic type of religion and partly from Roman Catholic ideals have called forth a stronger denominational consciousness on the Lutheran side. The war produced a cleavage between Germany and other Western nations, isolating German Lutheranism to a degree which has caused it to be especially sensitive to any attempt to change the character of the German Reformation by Calvinization or Catholicization.

At the same time a new interest is awakened in religious problems as presented in Russian literature. Tolstoi and Dostoievsky are exerting a wide influence upon the younger generation, especially in those circles which are pessimistic of the ability of the present-day churches to achieve the regeneration of society.

Other currents of religious life, some of which have their beginnings within and some without the church, have gained headway. An example of the first is the movement around Johannes Müller; of the second the anthroposophy and Christian communion founded by Rittelmeyer, both of which are protests against the artificiality of modern life. A sharp contrast is made between the simpler and deeper life as lived by Jesus and the hypocrisy within our religious conceptions and conduct.

Another group representing a new form of life and thought is composed of Siegmund-Schultze, editor of the *Eiche,* Mennicke of Berlin, Heitmann of Hamburg, Tillich of Marburg, and Barth, who are struggling to bring the churches to an ampler conception of their social duty. Stöcker and Naumann have prepared the way by their advocacy of social reform. But this younger group has a deeper and more tragic conception of bad social conditions as a manifestation of human sin and of the common responsibility of the churches, believing rather in working with God for the creation of a new society than in mending a threadbare rotten fabric. The strongest expression of this conviction is to be found in the theology of the crisis represented in Germany by Barth and Gogarten. They look

upon existing institutions as broken reeds and altogether impotent for the work in hand. This trend of thought has arrested the development of social service in some quarters.

The whole religious life of Germany has been profoundly stirred by the theology of crisis as propounded by Barth and Gogarten. Undoubtedly defeat and suffering have prepared the ground for such a theology, based as it is upon the transcendence of God and the utter inability of man to assist God in the working out of His Kingdom on earth.

German youth, so far as it is represented by a self-conscious movement, has turned away from the town and seeks nature. It condemns the spirit of egotistic pleasure and is seeking new joys in fellowship, in protesting against the generation which invented machines, city civilizations, and war. This protestation was vividly set forth in the pronunciamento of the meeting on the Hohen Meissner in 1913, when a large group of German youth took the oath on a new ideal of liberty, responsibility, and purity. The spirit of this movement is still alive, seeking new forms of religious expression in art, worship, and church.

Similar protestations and desires were alive in the religious social movement around Kutter and Ragaz, Siegmund-Schultze, Mennicke, and others.

A survey of present religious currents in Germany reveals three distinct expressions of the religious life. The first is seen in foreign and home mission work representing traditional religious institutionalism. A second group is possessed of strong religious convictions, emphasizing either the inward spiritual life or charity work. And on the boundary line which separates Evangelical Christianity from the broader and more general field of religion is a large number of more or less religious and idealistic movements by which the spiritual wistfulness of the people seeks expression.

A deep depression, due mainly to the defeat, to the financial ruin of the middle class, and to a new skepticism toward culture, is pervading large areas of the German people, leading them either to pleasures in order to forget their miseries or to a desire for a deeper knowledge of God.

At the second assembly of the German churches on September 11-15, 1921, at Stuttgart the German Evangelical Church Federation was organized and came into formal existence in the historic castle church in Wittenberg on the 25 of May, 1922.

The Federation is an association of twenty-eight national churches on a federative basis. The constitutional autonomy and integrity of the individual national churches which form the Federation is not interfered with in any way. With the Federation is affiliated the German Association of Moravian Brethren. The constituent members of the Federation are:

1. Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union.
2. National Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Free State of Saxony.
3. National Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hannover.
4. National Evangelical Church in Wurttemberg.
5. National Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria right s/o Rhine.
6. National Evangelical Lutheran Church of Schleswig-Holstein.
7. Evangelical Church of Thuringia.
8. Evangelical Lutheran Church in the State of Hamburg.
9. National Evangelical Church in Hessen.
10. United National Evangelical Protestant Church of Baden.
11. National Evangelical Church in Hessen-Cassel.
12. National Evangelical Lutheran Church in Mecklenburg-Schwerin.
13. United Protestant Evangelical Christian Church of the Palatinate (Palatine National Church).
14. National Evangelical Lutheran Church of Brunswick.
15. National Evangelical Church in Nassau.
16. National Evangelical Church of Annhalt.
17. Evangelical Lutheran Church of the District of Oldenburg.
18. Evangelical Church of Bremen.
19. National Evangelical Church of Frankfort a/Main.

20. National Evangelical Reformed Church of the Province of Hannover.
21. National Church (Lutheran and Reformed) of Lippe.
22. Evangelical Lutheran Church in the State of Lübeck.
23. National Church of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
24. Evangelical Lutheran Church in Reuss, older line.
25. National Evangelical Church of Waldeck and Pyrmont.
26. National Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Free State of Schaumburg-Lippe.
27. Evangelical Lutheran Church of the District Lübeck in the Free State of Oldenburg.
28. Evangelical Church of the District of Birkenfeld.

Affiliated:

29. Union of the Evangelical Moravian Brethren in Germany.

The Reformed churches of Germany belong to the German Church Federation, but are also organized in the *Reformirte Bund* of which Professor Lang is Moderator. With no effort to emphasize sharply the difference of opinion between the Lutheran and the Reformed wings of German Protestantism, they nevertheless feel that the spiritual life of Germany will be enriched by preserving the Calvinist tradition associated with the Heidelberg Catechism. The *Bund* has established a professorship in Göttingen, now occupied by the famous Professor Karl Barth, the chief exponent of the theology of crisis. It is estimated that over 600,000 members belong to the Reformed section of the German Evangelical churches.

The Federation of German Evangelical Churches does not constitute, it will be observed, an Empire or *Reich* Church, as it is not a church by itself but a federation of churches, somewhat analogous to the Federal Council of Churches in the United States. Its purpose is to represent the common interests of the *Landeskirchen,* to establish a close and lasting cooperation among them, and to build up a strong Protestant consciousness. The individual members of the Federation remain solely responsible for church doctrine, constitution, and administration in their respective territories.

The Federation has a twofold activity. In the first place, it is exclusively responsible for the representation of the interests of German Protestantism in its relation to foreign churches, as well as to the *Reich* and its legislative and administrative functions, and in assisting individual churches in their relationship to individual states. The second part of its functions consists in coöperating with individual federated churches in various fields of charity work, religious education, and in furthering home and foreign missionary societies.

The organs of the Federation are: (1) The German Evangelical Church Congress (*Kirchentag*), (2) the German Evangelical Church Council (*Kirchenbundesrat*), and (3) the German Evangelical Church Committee (*Kirchenauschuss*).

The Church Congress is the legislative body of the Federation. Clergymen and laymen are represented in it in the proportion of one to two.

The Church Council is an advisory body assisting the churches in dealing with important ecclesiastical questions.

A third body, the Church Committee, is the executive organ of the Federation. The Church Council and the Church Congress are represented on the Committee with 18 members each, appointed by those respective bodies from their membership.

All the churches which now form the Church Federation underwent far-reaching constitutional changes following the revolution of 1918, losing their character as state institutions. A state of uncertainty and in many districts an acute antagonism between state and church ensued. However, all the churches have succeeded in adjusting their relationship to the states and in giving themselves new constitutions.

It is rather difficult to grasp the true meaning of the term *Landeskirche* or National Church. The German national churches are now independent of the state and are the successors in law of the old state institutions. They are not free churches but national churches. They have not broken away from the geographical limits of the old state churches and are not merged in an Empire or *Reich* Church.

Two steps were of the utmost importance in the task of

shaping the new constitutional structure of the churches—the complete change in the relations between state and church as imposed by the constitution of the Empire, and the elimination of the local prince or king as supreme ruler of the church in his state.

By the Weimar constitution, all administrative and legislative functions formerly held by the state and the reigning prince are now absorbed into a purely ecclesiastical organization. The churches hold the privileged position of being corporations pertaining to public law, in the Continental sense of *Droit Public*. An important aspect of this "public law" character of the churches is this—that membership is not made dependent on a formal declaration of faith but on the simple fact of residence. Any one born of Evangelical parents and baptized is a member of the church, unless he formally declares his resignation from membership. The changes in the constitutional structure of the churches would have been far greater and more painful had it not been for the sense of moderation and the understanding of the peculiar historic character of the church which existed in the minds of those who framed the Weimar constitution.

The abolition of the monarchy and consequently of the heads of the various churches affected them even more deeply. The monarchial head having disappeared, the distribution of power within the ecclesiastical organization called for a complete change. The unique character of the position held by the king was thought to be antagonistic to any transfer to some other body. For centuries the monarch had been a powerful bond of unity for the church. When this condition no longer existed, disintegrating forces and sectarian tendencies threatened to break up the churches. It was vital to the church that its unity should be centered in and founded upon the people and it was to establish a people's church that the new ecclesiastical organizations sprang into being. The term, state church, was no longer a popular term. The German churches now claim to be people's churches, which indicates a new orientation. The organized community of church members constituting the parish is the center of the religious life of Germany.

Three characteristics mark the present development of German churches. The first is the preëminence which is given to the synods. Throughout, by the preponderance given to the synodal bodies, the spiritual and religious point of view is now emphasized in the work of the church, over and against the juridic and administrative one under the old government-controlled organization.

The second characteristic is the employment of the consistorial principle, heretofore preëminent, which has been taken over in some form or other.

The third basic principle manifest in the organization of a number of German churches is the idea of episcopal leadership. It has long since been felt in many ecclesiastical quarters of Germany that the masses will more easily gather around and be more deeply influenced by a powerful moral and religious personality than by a collegiate body. The tendency has been universal in the reshaping of the German churches to emphasize and strengthen the spiritual character of the church, and a number of churches have placed a man of ministerial standing at the head of the whole church. In some cases this was not done for technical reasons, but by no means out of any disregard for the spiritual nature of the church. A few churches have adopted the title of Bishop. In Prussia things are in a state of transition. There has been a feeling to adopt the title of Bishop if for no other reason than to eliminate the unpopular term General Superintendent.

A novel principle which has been adopted by certain churches, as, for example, all the Prussian churches with the exception of the National Church of Frankfort, is the creation of a third supreme organ of the church put in between the General Synod and the Church Board, the latter representing the administrative apparatus of the church. In the Old Prussian Union this third body is called Church Senate and is invested with those specific powers of church government which before rested with the monarchial head of the church.

Thus, in the bodies in charge of church government the three principles—synodal, consistorial, and episcopal—have their share in proportion to their relative strength in the or-

ganization of the church. A danger was foreseen in leaving the governing body of the church in control of changing majorities within the synods.

Owing to the fact that the churches were an integral part of the state, those who constituted the various new governments bound themselves, even after the separation of church and state, to make certain financial contributions to the administration of the churches, and as a temporary measure to pay subsidies for ministers' salaries.

The electoral system is not uniform throughout, and is a mixture of the majority system and the system of proportional representation. The church of the Old Prussian Union has adopted the principle of proportional representation, for the whole scale of the ecclesiastical structure, while other churches admit the majority system for the lower scales. The principle of direct election by the constituency is generally adopted only for the officers and boards of the individual congregations, with one or two exceptions in the Rhineland and Westphalia, the presbyters being elected by the larger body of representatives of the congregation.

The Protestant churches of Germany may be divided into the National Churches and the Free Churches.

I. *The National Churches.*

1. The Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union, under its new constitution effective October 1, 1924, preserves the continuity with the old "Union" church. Union here means neither fusion of the Lutheran and Reformed churches nor absorption of one by the other, but means the two confessions existing side by side, coördinated and united. This Union was effected under Frederick William III, in the tercentenary year of the Reformation, in 1817, and amounts to the two confessions being united under a common church government and celebrating together the Lord's Supper in the liturgical form to which the majority of the community inclines. The confessions thus preserve their denominational and credal peculiarities. When the old state church had to rebuild herself on the basis of the separation of state and church, the historic union

was taken over practically unchanged. The communities as well as the individual members may define their denominational standing by calling themselves either "Evangelical" or "Evangelical Lutheran" or "Evangelical Reformed," as the case may be, or, finally, "Evangelical United."

By law of the state of Prussia of April 8, 1924, the seven National Evangelical churches existing in Prussia enjoy full autonomy. The enactment of ecclesiastical laws does no longer require approval by the government.

The basic church constitution of the Church of the Old Prussian Union contains an introductory statement which has been the object of much criticism in and outside the church. In its final form the passage reads:

> Faithful to the heritage of the Fathers, the National Evangelical Church of the older provinces of Prussia recognizes the permanent validity of the creeds, namely, the Apostolic and other creeds of the old Church, also the Augsburgian Confession, the Apology, the Schmalkaldian Articles, and the Small and Large Catechisms in the Lutheran, and the Heidelberg Catechism in the Reformed communities, as well as other creeds where such may be held. The Gospel as confirmed in these creeds is the unquestionable basis for the doctrine, work, and life of the Church.

This passage was construed by many as meaning that the church was binding herself down in a formal way to what was thought to be the narrow ground of specified Protestant creeds.

The Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union comprises the eight older provinces of Prussia: East Prussia, the border district of Posen—West Prussia, Pommern, Brandenburg (with Berlin), Lower and Upper Silesia, Saxony (the province), Westphalia, and the Rhine province with the Hohenzollern counties, each of which forms a church province. It should be noted that the new Prussian provinces do not, and never did, belong to the Old Prussian Union. On the other

hand, the territories separated from Prussia and Germany under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, namely, Memelland, Danzig, the ceded districts of West Prussia and Posen, and Upper Silesia, still are formally connected and constitutionally one with the Old Prussian Union. There is this remarkable fact, then, that the Church of the Old Prussian Union does not coincide with, or fall exclusively within, Prussian territory but does extend, with its administrative organization and its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, into foreign territory. This status is recognized by international law as created in the Versailles Treaty. It has been modified somewhat, or not given a permanent form yet, by the governments of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, the tendency being to suppress this alleged infraction on the sovereignty of the state, while in some of the Baltic countries a mutual agreement has been worked out between the Old Prussian Union Church and the national government and church.

The church of the Old Prussian Union numbers 17,955,744 souls, and is by far the largest single German church.

Its constitution became law on October 1, 1924, after many stormy phases in the long process of complete legal, constitutional, and administrative reorganization. It was no easy task for the church to found a new organization with the state suddenly withdrawing from its position of power and influence in the church. In the early days of the post-war period the radical parliament and cabinet used their influence to make the principle of the separation of state and church a stumbling-block for the latter. The church succeeded, however, in asserting its autonomy and in bringing its inner structure into conformity with its own wishes. These were not homogeneous, and the result represents what is thought to be a wise and happy compromise between the conflicting ideals of church organization. The consistorial principle of church government heretofore had been the prevailing form and had still many adherents. The presbyterian and synodal principle was practically unknown to most German national churches but had its enthusiastic advocates when it came to reorganize the church, especially with the churches of Western Germany standing on

ancient well-established tradition of Reformed church government and local autonomy. In addition, a strong group favoring the introduction of bishops had to be reconciled. These various competing tendencies and motives were blended into the present organization, which seeks to give credit to the best of all of them.

The Evangelical population is in most of the provinces over 80 per cent, and in two cases, Pommern and Saxony, over 90; while for the province of Silesia it is 49, of Westphalia 47, and of the Rhineland 29.5.

The separated territories present special problems. The mother churches still consider them an integral part of themselves, a status which neighboring governments refuse to admit.

(*a*) *Memelland.* A treaty signed on October 1, 1925, by the parties concerned determines the constitutional status of the Evangelical Church of Memelland, formerly a district of the church province of East Prussia and still legally connected with the Old Prussian Union. It is made a self-contained synodal unit. The Superintendent General and the consistory represent the administrative organization of the Church of the Old Prussian Union.

(*b*) *The Free City of Danzig* is an ecclesiastical province of the Church of the Old Prussian Union. It numbers 227,000 Evangelical people, or 57 per cent of its population of 384,000 by the census of 1924. The Evangelical Church of the Free City of Danzig forms a synodal unit representing the local church, with a Superintendent General and a consistory representing the Church of the Old Prussian Union.

(*c*) *In Poland* the United Evangelical Church claims 350,000 souls, or 12-13 per cent of the population. A constitution was drawn up and passed by the synod of the church in December, 1923, but not sanctioned by the Polish government. The church has not yet full recognition by the Polish state. The same holds good for the smaller denominations.

(*d*) *In Polish Upper Silesia* the United Evangelical Church is one of the German Church fragments which is still having difficulty in maintaining its integrity in a hostile environment.

(*e*) *In the Hultschin Territory, and Eupen-Malmedy,* no successful attempt has, as yet, been made to bring order into the ecclesiastical confusion within these territories.

2. The National Lutheran Church of Hannover comprises 82 per cent of the province of Hannover, namely, 2,414,232 members.

3. The National Reformed Church of Hannover numbers 157,467 members, which is 5.35 per cent of the population. The two churches exist side by side, each covering the entire territory of the province.

4. The National Lutheran Church of Schleswig-Holstein numbers 1,361,307 members, that is, 93 per cent of the population.

5. The National Evangelical Church in Hessen-Cassel, numbering 822,330, or about 70 per cent of the population, comprises the Reformed, Lutheran and United congregations of what formerly was the consistorial district of Cassel.

6. The National Evangelical Church in Nassau, formerly the consistory of Wiesbaden, is United in its denominational standing.

7. The National Evangelical Church of Frankfort a/Main is Lutheran in its great majority and Reformed. It contains about 220,000 members or 60 per cent of the population of its territory.

8. The National Evangelical Lutheran Church of Bavaria, right side of Rhine, 1,575,675 souls, or 21.3 per cent of the entire population. Mention should be made also of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Bavaria with seven organized congregations which leads more or less a separate existence but is associated for its financial management with the Lutheran Church of Bavaria.

9. The United Protestant Evangelical Christian Church of the Palatinate is denominationally United, with 506,651 souls, which is 54 per cent of the population.

10. The National Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Free State of Saxony, with 4,509,489 members, or 94.2 per cent of the population, is still in a period of transition in its inner reconstruction, owing to the radical course adopted by the state

legislature and government, whose unconstitutional acts were promptly repealed by the National Supreme Court.

11. The National Evangelical Lutheran Church in Wurttemberg has a membership of 1,668,517, or 68.5 per cent of the population.

12. The National United Protestant Church of Baden numbers 821,236 souls, or 38.3 per cent of the population.

13. The National Evangelical Church in Hessen—Lutheran, Reformed, and United—has (1910) 848,004 members, or 61 per cent of the population.

14. The Thuringian Evangelical Church, comprising the national churches of the several former Thuringian duchies, numbers 1,384,914 members, or 96.4 per cent of the population. By origin and tradition this church is Lutheran.

15. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Reuss, older line, has 70,437 members, or 96.8 per cent of the population.

16. The National Evangelical Lutheran Church of Mecklenburg-Schwerin has 614,220 members, or 95.7 per cent of the population.

17. The Mecklenburg-Strelitz National Church is Lutheran, with 101,513 members or 95.4 per cent of the population.

18. The Evangelical-Lutheran Church of the District of Oldenburg has 291,114 souls, or 74.4 per cent of the population.

19. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the District of Lübeck in the Free State of Oldenburg contains a large majority of the people within the state.

20. The Evangelical Church of the District of Birkenfeld is United and has 40,000 members or 80 per cent of the population.

21. The Brunswickian Evangelical Lutheran National Church has 464,175 members, or 93.9 per cent of the population.

22. The National Evangelical Church of Anhalt is United, with 315,262 members or 95.2 per cent of the population.

23. The Evangelical National Church of Waldeck and Pyrmont is United, with 65,000 members or 95.3 per cent of the population.

24. The Lippe National Reformed and Lutheran Church except for five congregations, is Reformed, with 143,978 members or 88 per cent of the population.

25. The National Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Free State of Schaumburg-Lippe has 44,376 members, or 95 per cent of the population.

26. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Free State of Lübeck has 111,515 members, or 95.6 per cent of the population.

27. The Bremen Evangelical Church has about 260,000 members out of a population of 330,000. The unlimited autonomy of the individual congregation as to matters of doctrine, traditional with the Bremen church, has been fully preserved in the reorganized church.

28. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Free State of Hamburg has 1,035,197 members or 90.9 per cent of the population.

29. The Evangelical Moravian Union in Germany has scattered groups comprising several thousand members.

The National Churches contain the great majority of the Protestant population of Germany.

II. *The Free Churches.*

The Free churches form a second group. Strictly speaking all German churches are free or unattached to the state, but the term here is used to denote those bodies which formerly were neither established nor belonged to any one state.

The Free churches of Germany fall roughly into nine groups:

1. The Evangelical Lutheran Free churches have 76 parishes and 54,000 members in Prussia separated from the Old Prussian Union. They have 20 parishes and 4,150 members in Hannover, 4 parishes in Baden, 3 parishes in Hermannsburg, 13 parishes in Hessen, using the *Confessio Augustana,* several parishes in Hamburg, and 48 parishes in Saxony.

2. The Evangelical Reformed Free churches include 3 parishes in Niedersachsen, and 9 parishes in Hannover.

3. The Mennonites of Germany have formed an association with 17,000 members.

4. The Methodists have 167 parishes, 40,400 members, 571 Sunday schools, numerous social works and a seminary in Frankfort a/Main.

5. The Baptists have formed an alliance with 61,000 members in 265 parishes, with a seminary in Hamburg and a special foreign mission work.

6. The Apostolic Congregations and New Apostolics report 1,240 parishes, with a foreign mission work and an aggressive press.

7. The Adventists have three unions, 31,600 members, and a missionary work.

8. The German branch of the Salvation Army works in several European countries with 503 officers in Germany and a very successful social service enterprise.

9. The Huguenot churches of Germany, often ignored and unknown to many, form a vital element in the ecclesiastical life of the country. The Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the German Huguenot Association held in Friedrichsdorf, September 27, 1925, organized a union of French-Reformed churches, establishing for the first time a basis of coöperation among them.

Huguenot emigrants have a past which forms one of the brightest pages of Continental church history, abounding in the names of martyrs, saints and heroic men and women. Two hundred and forty years have elapsed since the Edict of Fontainebleau forced the Huguenots to emigrate, when the Edict of Potsdam provided for them a new home in Germany.

No form of legal union had been achieved by the Huguenot churches of Germany prior to the war. Since the war they have been confronted, as have all German churches, with financial difficulties which have threatened them with extinction. In view of these perplexities the German Huguenot Association, at its meeting in Friedrichsdorf, consummated a synodal union of all German Huguenot churches.

Four of the Free churches, the Baptists, Methodists, the Evangelical Association, and the Association of Free Evangelical parishes, have formed a federation.

CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM

There have been many discussions since the war as to the numbers of people who have been won over to the Catholic Church from Protestantism through the medium of mixed marriages. Although the Catholics have enormously strengthened their position diplomatically and financially through the huge relief and reconstruction funds that have come from all countries to the Vatican treasury, nevertheless they have not made disproportionate gains in Germany, either through intermarriage or by conversion.

The Bonifacius Society reported in 1926 that they were building 155 new churches and several hundred schools.

In 1920 there were 41,712 Protestant men who married Catholic women; in 1921, 34,498; in 1922, 35,140; in 1923, 30,799. The figures for the same years for Catholic men marrying Protestants were: 1920, 47,432; for 1921, 38,709; for 1922, 37,209; for 1923, 32,781. The most reliable Catholic statistics available indicate that the Protestant Church has made a steady gain on intermarriages in spite of a rigid Catholic policy and the new canonical law providing that children of mixed marriages must be reared in the Roman Church. Three-fifths of the children of mixed marriages are estimated as going to the Protestant Church. Some Catholic authorities place the number as high as 40,000 yearly who pass over because of mixed marriages to the Protestant faith.

In the exchange of members between the Protestant and Catholic Churches, the former has been the gainer. The Catholic Church in Germany numbers, in rough figures, 20 millions, the Protestant Church 40 millions. The exchange between the two churches, however, is in favor of the Protestant Church, not only proportionally but in absolute figures. The figures below give the number of conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism as recorded by the Protestant churches, and of the conversions from Protestantism to Catholicism as recorded by the Catholic Church:

1. Conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism: 1910,

8,270; 1920, 11,037; 1921, 11,462; 1922, 10,176; 1923, 9,547.

2. Conversions from Protestantism to Catholicism: 1910, 4,779; 1920, 8,570; 1921, 8,030; 1922, 7,185; 1923, 7,245.

The absolute gains on the side of the Protestant Church from this exchange between the two confessions are: 1910, 3,491; 1920, 2,467; 1921, 3,432; 1922, 2,991; 1923, 2,302.

These figures should not be overrated in their significance. But they indicate one thing with absolute certainty, namely, that it is a dogma unwarranted by the facts that the Catholic Church is attracting people to a degree exceeding what may be expected in the natural course of events. The proportional figures of this exchange are illuminating:

Joined the Protestant Church, Out of 100,000 Catholics:		*Joined the Catholic Church, Out of 100,000 Protestants:*	
1910	3,496	1910	1,248
1920	5,702	1920	2,247
1921	5,928	1921	2,107
1922	5,267	1922	1,885
1923	4,941	1923	1,901

ATHEISTIC AND ANTI-CHURCH PROPAGANDA AND ITS RESULTS IN REGARD TO CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

Before the war, separation from the church was made difficult by civil legislation. Liberal and radical governments, following the war, did away with prohibitive clauses, with the result that the radical trend of labor during and after the German revolution brought about an unprecedented movement of separation from the church. While in 1910, which may be taken as a typical year, the number of people withdrawing from church membership by reason of anti-religious views was roughly 12,000, in 1919 the number had increased at once to nearly 230,000 and in 1920 it reached the fantastic height of 305,584. Since that year there has been a steady and marked decline: In 1920, 305,584; in 1921, 246,302; in 1922, 149,709; in 1923, 111,866. It may safely be said that the number of dissidents, leaving aside for the moment those who are join-

ing the Catholic Church or some Free church, in all probability will continue to decrease for some years, until it has reached an average approximating the pre-war levels. Up to this time a large surplus number of discontented people who had been prevented from separation by rigid legislation have taken advantage of the present opportunity and are responsible for the excessive number of resignations from church membership in the years following the war. The very existence of the church seemed at stake in the years 1919 and 1920, when the antagonism against the church on the part of radical parliaments and of the forces of labor was at its height; but, serious as this problem is at present, there is no longer any question of the foundations of the church being disrupted.

The statistical curve exhibited by what was and still is the most radical of all German states, the Free State of Saxony, is illuminating in this respect. The state government and parliament of Saxony are hostile to the church and took steps calculated to cripple the national Lutheran Church of the Free State. Secession from the church was fostered by legislation and by the attitude of the authorities. This radical course is still in vogue in Saxony and checked only by the Supreme Court of the *Reich* having declared unconstitutional the more drastic measures which were passed. The number resigning from membership in the Free State of Saxony in 1919 was 16,089; in 1920, 50,759; in 1921, 96,367; in 1922, 48,635; in 1923, 24,730.

Generally speaking, Northern and Middle Germany have far larger percentages of those resigning than Southern Germany. The centers of this dissident movement are of course the large cities. The agrarian sections of the country, especially those where there is no industry, stand almost completely outside this movement.

A serious problem confronting the German churches and one which will make itself felt more acutely a few years hence is the decline in the number of theological students since the war. The German Evangelical churches, in order to have an adequate supply of young ministers, should count on an average number of from 3,600 to 3,800 theological students in training.

Never since the year 1878 has the number of theological students been as low as at the present time. Since 1920 their number has fallen steadily each year by several hundred. In 1920 the number was 3,549, not counting women students, and in the winter term of 1924-1925 it was 1,835, only one-half the number needed for a minimum supply. In the coming years German Protestants will be face to face with an acute shortage of ministers. The reason for this alarming condition is only partially found in the disastrous economic conditions which prostrated the middle classes from which the ministry was largely recruited. Frustration wrought by military defeat, bitter animosities aroused by the Treaty, oppression of German minorities in neighboring countries, have united with the war losses and inflation to create a state of mind by no means favorable to the enlistment of able youth for the Christian ministry.

HOME OR INNER MISSION WORK

Inner Mission Work in Germany received its first impulse under Wichern, who died in 1881, and Bodelschwingh, who died in 1910, and who built up an entire town of charitable institutions in Bethel, from which the German Church Federation sent out its social message in 1925. Stöcker, who died in 1909, was also a pioneer in social work in Germany. He promulgated in 1878 a new Christian social program, and gave a strong impetus to social consolidation. Frederick Naumann, who died in 1910, was a pioneer in the new social movement, which aimed at a transformation of society through political action rather than through social service. Naumann endeavored to represent the justifiable claims of labor to the Christian Conference of the Churches. In his later years he founded a new social political party. The German Evangelical Social Congress founded in 1890 by Wagner, Harnack, and others was in reality an academic forum and remained so until a younger generation, led by Ragaz, a Swiss, Kutter and Siegmund-Schultze put forth more radical efforts for the social gospel.

A group centered around Mennicke and Tillich have attempted to replace the materialistic spirit by a conception of a society which is more thoroughly Christian.

The German Church Council in its meeting of 1905 was most hospitable to a thoroughgoing social program for the church and advocated the creation of social pastorates and special social service within the churches.

It was only after the war that German churches became aroused to the essential connection between social service and the religious impulse of which they were the chief guardians. This newly aroused sympathy was timely, for a strong dissension was gaining ground among those who saw the social implications of religion and felt impatience with the extreme conservatism of the churches.

For over half a century home missions were almost exclusively in the hands of small circles as private enterprises or among the Free Church groups. At one time it came dangerously near to being regarded as a monopoly of the Free churches, with the great body of church folk standing by with suspicion and not infrequently with resentment. The *rapprochement* between the national churches and home missions is proving of great benefit to both; home missions can bring to the church the message of a religion of action, and the church can give to home missions a deeper appreciation of spiritual values and preserve them from superficiality.

The efficiency of German home missions has been greatly increased by the establishing of the Home Missions Central Association, with a central committee. In 1924 a Continental Association for Home Missions was organized as a coördinating body, and held its first conference in Amsterdam.

In the entire range of home missions in Germany there are about 47,000 professional workers.

The male workers number 2,935 deacons—social workers, evangelists, directors of homes and asylums, Y.M.C.A. leaders, church workers, and trained nurses, with nineteen home bases, the so-called Brethren Homes. Their importance in the Christian youth movement and in evangelization is steadily growing.

The number of charitable institutions makes an impressive

picture of the scope and variety of this work. It will be noticed that work carried on outside of established homes, hospitals or social service institutions is not included in this survey, nor is the personnel accounted for in the figures. There are over 3,800 homes with 165,000 places available for sick and needy children, and 935 homes available for old people.

	Number	*Number of Beds*
Training institutions	83	2,194
Hospitals and sanatoriums (including insane hospitals, nurseries, homes for the old, etc.)	2,089	110,206
Homes for children	401	15,664
Educational homes and refuges for unmarried mothers	766	39,626
Homes and refuges for travelers and migrating people	516	26,226
	3,855	193,916

Inner Mission work as a whole in Germany did not grow out of the congregations as a part of their missionary endeavor, but was organized by philanthropically minded citizens outside the church.

The strongest women's evangelical movement on the Continent is in Germany, ably led by Frau von Tilling and Frau Müller-Otfried, M. P.

The Gustav-Adolf Society, begun in 1832, carries on a unique work among the German evangelical *diaspora,* including 2,500 parishes in France, Italy, Poland, Jugoslavia, and Hungary. In many the services are conducted in the language of the country. A periodical is published by this organization entitled the *Evangelische Diaspora.* The aim of the society is not to combat the Roman Church but to protect evangelicals wherever their well-being is menaced.

The religious press, badly crippled after the war, has again recouped its strength and an evangelical press service has been organized with headquarters in Berlin.

Germany has a great number of well-organized societies for special branches of religious life and activity. No other country is better organized in this respect.

The *Evangelische Bund* is a society for the protection of Protestantism, watching especially the maintenance of confessional equilibrium and defending the Protestant cause against political and Roman Catholic aggression.

The Young Men's Christian Association has 5,444 branches and 185,000 members. Other Christian youth movements, including 2,857 societies, have 150,000 members and 215 homes, with a central organization. All the Christian youth movements now have a center near the Wartburg.

Ten *Bible Societies* distribute on an average nearly one million Bibles and Scripture parts each year.

The missionary side of home missions has come to the foreground since the war. While evangelization had at all times been a main issue, it was not until the close of the war that the idea of a comprehensive and aggressive type of missionary work with the people of the home country was conceived. The churches are now beginning to rally with the forces of home missions in a common effort for the evangelization of the people.

A marked difference exists between the conception of Inner Mission Work in Lutheran countries and in the more Calvinistic American conception. The former conceived the coming of the Kingdom through the work of an inner power and through the transfiguration of the whole soul from within, with emphasis upon conversion and evangelization; while the other conception embraces the transfiguration of society by the creation of an atmosphere of social service through which it is easier to live according to the Sermon on the Mount. One is more subjective in its approach and the other more objective.

FOREIGN MISSIONS

The Foreign Missionary outreach of German Protestants has been a notable contribution to Christianity throughout the world. A list of the societies is eloquent proof of their inclusive view regarding Christian missions.

Mission Board of the Moravian Church (1732)
Berlin Missionary Society (1824)

Rhenish Missionary Society (1824)
Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission (1836)
Gossner Missionary Society (1836)
North German Missionary Society (1836)
Rhenish-Westphalian Deaconesses' Society (1836)
Women's Association for Female Christian Education in Eastern Countries (1842)
Hermannsburg Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society (1849)
Society for Home and Foreign Missions according to the Principles of the Lutheran Church (1849)
Berlin Women's Missionary Society for China (1850)
Jerusalem Union (1852)
Union for the Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem (1860)
Leper Asylum "Jesus Help" in Jerusalem (1867)
Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society at Breklum (1877)
Neukirchen Mission Institute (1882)
General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society (1884)
Bethel Mission (1886)
Hildesheim Missionary Society for Blind Girls in China (1890)
Missionary Society of the German Baptists (1890)
China Alliance Mission of Barem (1889)
Hannover Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Missionary Society (1892)
German Aid Society for Christian Charity in the East (1896)
German Orient Mission (1896)
Kiel China Mission (1896)
Liebenzell Mission (1899)
Sudan Pioneer Mission (1900)
Karmel Mission (1903)
Christian Mission to the Blind in the Orient (1907)
Friedenshort (Miechowitz) Deaconess Mission (1912)
German Women's Missionary Prayer Union (1913)

When the Peace Conference mandated the German colonies to the Allied Powers the great majority of German missionaries were compelled to return to the fatherland. Only now after the efforts of years are they being allowed to man their old posts in outstations, clinics, hospitals, churches, and schools.

The German Protestant *bloc* is the largest on the Continent, and still holds, as it has since Luther's day, much of the leadership of Evangelical Europe. Having passed through the fiery furnace of the last decade, it has given proof of spiritual soundness and promise of mighty advances in the years ahead.

Switzerland

Switzerland, the oldest republic, had its beginning in the thirteenth century when a federation of small independent states or cantons was created based upon democratic ideals. New cantons were admitted to this federation during the following centuries, until at the time of the Congress of Vienna Switzerland took its present shape and size with its twenty-two cantons. German, French, and Italian culture and language are resident in Switzerland and have produced an unusual richness and variety of intellectual life. The Swiss participates in cultures which have produced Luther, Kant, and Goethe, which have given birth to the French dramatists, to Pascal, and to Descartes, which have brought to the world the illuminated minds of Dante and Michelangelo.

Three-fifths of the population are Protestant, and two-fifths Catholic; that is, 2,230,059 Protestants and 1,585,311 Catholics. Although formerly the two confessions fought various religious wars, they have for a long period lived peacefully together until recent times. Since the promulgation of the new canonic law by the Vatican, a certain tension has grown up, especially in the field of education and marriage legislation.

Protestantism in Switzerland spread from two centers, Zurich and Geneva, where Zwingli and Calvin exerted a far-reaching influence in the Reformation. Both manifested the same radicalism of faith as did Luther, but arrived at a far

more radical and systematic form of theological thinking, showed more opposition to Roman elements in the cult, and went much further in aiming at a new social structure within the church. Both reformers possessed an ecumenical mind, which led early to the spread of the Swiss Reformation far beyond the frontiers. Calvinism may be called the most international movement of the Reformation. The influence of Zwingli and Calvin has continued to maintain such a strong hold upon the vast majority of Swiss Protestants that they have remained together in a *bloc* of Reformed churches, which differ very little from one another.

There is no national Swiss Reformed Church, most of the Swiss states or cantons having their own independent churches, which are either State Churches or Free Churches. The Federation of the Swiss Protestant Churches includes twenty-two such bodies. Most of these were state churches until recent times. The churches, through the friendly attitude of the state, received not only the necessary protection against Roman aggression, but also achieved a close connection with the people as a political body, a contact which has never been lost. The state church was the people's church, including all Protestants of the country who were born as such and who did not ask dismissal from the church by special declaration.

The influence of the state upon the church varies in the several cantons. The state claims the right to supervise church expenses and legal procedure in most of the cantons, but it does not interfere with internal affairs of a strictly spiritual character. In several cantons the churches organize their finances entirely independent of state control.

After Geneva, in 1907, accepted disestablishment of the church, a movement began which led to the disestablishment of the churches at Basel and Schaffhausen. The churches did not by this legislation break all connection with the state, nor was the state discharged from all financial obligation.

Most of the cantonal churches have a Presbyterian organization, with mixed synods consisting of pastors and laymen. In some state churches the state appoints one or two delegates in the synod or the church council. In Geneva the polity of

THE MONUMENT TO THE REFORMATION AT GENEVA

A CHRISTMAS SCENE IN THE ALPS

the church is centered in the consistory, which was originally created as a special body for church discipline.

The life of the church is focused in the parishes which enjoy an unusual independence and autonomy, electing their ministers and having the right of taxation of their members, maintaining special funds and exerting a great influence on the organization of divine service and religious education.

In addition to the established or national churches, which include the greater part of the Protestant population, there are some small Free churches in most of the cantons. They are partly Reformed as to doctrine, like the national churches, and have either grown out of some revival or in opposition to the supervision of the state. In part also they are the result of the evangelistic activity of foreign churches, such as the Methodists and Baptists, which penetrated into the Continent in the middle of the last century. In some measure, too, these Free churches have been aided by a movement in Germany, where numerous free associations of a Pietistic character have been formed. In the Catholic cantons evangelical parishes have spread widely and form a well-organized Protestant *diaspora,* attached to the Swiss Church Federation.

Each of the ancient Swiss churches of the Reformation had its declaration of faith. Of these, only the Second Helvetic Confession, drafted by Bullinger, and the Heidelberg Catechism have persisted, but to-day most of the national churches have no confession of faith expressed in theological formulæ. The Evangelical character of the church finds its expression, in most of the churches, in a short general declaration, which has less of a theological than a religious spirit. The Statute of the National Church of Geneva serves as an example of such a religious declaration:

> The Protestant National Church of Geneva confesses Jesus Christ, Saviour of Men, as its only head, considering itself an essential member of the Universal Church and continuing the heritage of the Church which was founded by the Parliament of Geneva, May 21, 1536; it feels attached to the other Churches of the Reformation

> and maintains an especial relationship with the Reformed Churches of Switzerland. It considers as the basis of its doctrine the scripture freely interpreted in the light of the Christian conscience and theological studies. It imposes the duty on every one of its members to form a personal and well-reflected conviction; it opens its doors to all Protestants of the Canton Geneva without imposing upon them a special confession of faith. Its aim is to unite them in a spirit of justice and brotherliness in view of their religious and moral development. It works for the progress of the Kingdom of God on earth through the Gospel which is the source of life eternal and of all individual and social progress.

The Swiss national churches united some decades ago in a Swiss Church Conference, in which the first official connection between the cantonal churches was achieved. This Conference was transformed in 1920 into the Swiss Church Federation, including all cantonal churches, the Free churches of the French section, the associations of the *diaspora,* and the Methodist Church and some congregations abroad. The organs of the Federation are the assembly of delegates and the executive committee, composed of eight members and two secretaries. The Federation represents the churches in matters common to all members, such as church relationship to the state, and maintains contact with foreign churches. The Federation recognizes the autonomy and the special character of each constituent member. The Swiss ministers formed the Swiss Society of Ministers, in addition to the Federation of Churches, which convenes annually for the discussion of theological, ecclesiastical, and social questions.

Religious life in Switzerland, so far as it finds its expression in public worship, is austere in character. Severe simplicity, a lack of esthetic decoration, and able preaching are its chief characteristics. Attendance, especially in large cities, has diminished under the disintegrating influence of religious indifference within the cultured and laboring classes, but in rural districts church-going is still the regular custom.

The estrangement of large masses from the church led to an increased effort in evangelization, which was first undertaken by the free associations and later by the churches. In spite of religious indifference, the great bulk of the people come to the church for baptism, confirmation, marriage and funeral services, and the children, almost without exception, are sent for religious education in school and church. Religious instruction begins in the primary school, where it is in general a part of the officially recognized curriculum. It is continued afterwards in the religious education of the church and concludes with confirmation at the age of fifteen or sixteen years. The children almost universally attend Sunday schools and the catechism classes.

Missionary work, for which great personal sacrifices are not unusual, has laid hold strongly upon the heart of the Swiss people. A large measure of Swiss missionary work is international—the Basel Mission, the General Protestant Mission, and the Moravian Mission having their home base in Germany as well as in Switzerland—which has done much for international Christian coöperation for a century. Only the Mission Romande and the Kanarese Mission are definitely Swiss missionary societies—the latter has recently joined the Basel mission without giving up its independence. The missionary work is not undertaken by the churches as such, but by private missionary societies. An attempt was made recently to bring these missionary societies into official connection with the church, as is already the case with the Mission Romande.

All ministers of the national churches are educated in the theological faculties of the universities. Only the Free churches of the French section have theological seminaries of their own. It is a common practice for theological students to attend two or three semesters at foreign universities, in Germany, France, Great Britain or America. For the examination of the candidates, most of the cantonal churches have formed a Concordate, whose examination precedes any claim of a candidate for admission to consecration.

The character of Swiss theology has been strongly influenced in recent years from three quarters: by the principal ideas of

the Reformed tradition; the Pietistic theology of the revival, which spread through the French-speaking cantons during the last century; and scientific methods of research.

Modern higher criticism led, some decades ago, to the formation of different theological parties, representing an orthodox doctrinal confessionalism, and a liberal group standing for a full acceptance of the principles of Bible criticism and the reconciliation of Christianity with modern culture. In spite of no little bitterness, these contrasts did not lead to schism. This is due not only to the conciliatory activity of a middle party, which combines the methods of modern theology with the maintenance of evangelical faith and life, but also to the independence of the parishes which have the right to elect pastors of their own choice. In recent years a *rapprochement,* especially in practical church work, has been reached by the different parties, who have given up one side of an ultra-orthodox doctrinalism, and on the other hand an exclusive rationalism, and have found common ground for their activity in placing anew the personality of Christ in the center of the message of the church.

A new religious movement has arisen in recent years which is exerting a strong influence in Switzerland and Germany. Its origin was the religious social activity of such men as Kutter and Ragaz. These leaders of social Christianity pointed out anew the social implications of the Gospel and have given their approval to all forces working for social justice. A number of the adherents of this movement subscribed officially to the program of socialism, sharply criticizing the churches as obstacles to the coming of wider social justice. Out of this movement, which split into different groups, came one of the leading theologians of the present time, Professor Karl Barth of Münster.

The Swiss Reformation was characterized from the very beginning by ecumenical tendencies. Zwingli especially desired to bring the Evangelical churches into a federation. But Swiss Protestantism, with the exception of Geneva, had lost this impulse and cared only for its small national churches. During and after the World War it was manifest that Switzerland

was in an advantageous position for restoring relations between separated peoples and churches. Switzerland had not only been neutral during the war, and had undertaken humanitarian tasks like the International Red Cross, but she has also given hospitality in recent years to conferences of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, of the Life and Work movement, and of the Presbyterian Alliance. Several of the earliest meetings which led to the formation of the present World Alliance occurred during the war, while the first conference on Life and Work, which has grown out of the World Alliance, was convened in Switzerland. The Swiss Committee of the World Alliance, as well as the Committee of the Swiss Federation, participated actively in all international church efforts and has published a bulletin entitled *The Christian Voices.*

The first Protestant Conference following the war, held in Copenhagen, conferred upon the Swiss Church Federation the duty of organizing common Protestant relief work and the creation of a European Central Bureau. This Bureau is not only in constant contact with all European churches, but also with American Protestantism, and is furthering the idea of cooperation, not only on European soil but between European and American Protestantism.

It is fortunate for Protestants as a whole that the Swiss, equipped for such tasks of reconciliation by their history and geographical position, consider such efforts as their contribution to the Christian Church throughout the world.

Chapter II

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

England

The revolt of England against the papacy was political as well as religious. English Protestantism at the time did not concern itself so much with religious matters as did Scotland and various Continental countries which had accepted the Reformation. Henry VIII in repudiating the papal authority, only reasserted the principle of national autonomy within the Catholic Church against papal claims inspired by hostility; but, by trying to replace the Pope by the King, he precipitated a breach with the rest of the Western Church. The English Reformation at this stage was primarily political, though its doctrinal direction had been anticipated as far back as Wycliffe, who died in 1384. Under Henry the services were conducted in English and new doctrines were being preached, but the doctrinal stage of the English Reformation began in the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553), under whom the first English Prayer-Book was issued in 1549, based largely on the older service-books. The temporary setback under the persecuting Queen Mary (1553-1558) really served to root Protestant doctrine in the hearts of the people, and under Queen Elizabeth a Reformed Church was firmly established, with the *Book of Common Prayer,* a compromise between the Books of 1549 and 1552, as its manual of worship, and the *Thirty-nine Articles,* Protestant in tone but aiming at comprehension in language as its standard of belief. Episcopacy continued to be a feature of the church, the royal supremacy was strongly asserted, and many of the ancient ceremonies and usages were also retained. These causes, with others, led to the rise of Puritanism—representing the more uncompromising Protes-

tantism of the Continent and aiming at Scriptural simplicity and spiritual freedom.

For nearly a century this tendency struggled to maintain itself within the Church of England, notwithstanding the opposition of the ruling powers, and for a time under the Commonwealth (1649-1660) it was in the ascendant. The High Church movement, best represented by Archbishop Laud and supported by the Stuart kings, eventually triumphed over the Puritans, and in 1662 all clergy who refused to assent to the whole Prayer-Book doctrine and ritual were deprived of their benefices. Before that time there was no strongly organized nonconformity, but thenceforth Independents, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and other denominations had a distinctly separate existence. The Revolution Settlement in 1689 gave them toleration, but they suffered under severe disabilities until a much later period.

An immense accession to religious dissent came towards the end of the eighteenth century, when John Wesley, though he never left the Church of England, was driven by its lack of sympathy with his evangelistic activity to take steps which led to the founding of the Methodist Church. Nevertheless, the parent Anglican Church was much strengthened by the Evangelical Revival, many of Wesley's followers remaining within it. The Oxford movement of 1830 and succeeding years brought about a similar consequence. While the latter was largely anti-Protestant, it developed a type of earnest religious life which reacted naturally against the rigidity of ultra-Puritanism and the individualism of the Evangelicals. At the same time the Broad Church and Christian Social movement under Maurice, Kingsley, and others brought Angelicanism more into touch with the masses of the people.

The nineteenth century saw the consolidation of the Free churches and at the same time the evolution of the Church of England into a great comprehensive body embracing three conflicting schools of thought. The witness to Protestant principles, and their application to changing modern conditions, fell chiefly to the evangelical and broad schools in the Established Church, and to the Nonconformists, which in 1892

formed together the National Free Church Council. On the other hand, the left wing of the High Church school has shown a manifest leaning towards Roman doctrine and practice, and Anglo-Catholics generally repudiate the name of Protestant. The twentieth century has seen the beginning of more friendly relations between Church and Dissent, the pronouncement of the Bishops at Lambeth in 1920 having been a remarkable step in that direction, reciprocated by responses on the other side. The Church of England has now a recognized organ of both clerical and lay opinion in the Church Assembly founded in 1919.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

The Episcopal Church of England, representing the old English church tradition, claims the allegiance of nearly half the population of the country. The doctrinal standard is expressed in the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-Nine Articles, but great liberty of interpretation is left to members and clergy, although this latitude varies in different dioceses. Her ecclesiastical livings and pastoral charges number 14,750, and there are about 30,000 clergy. Statistics of actual membership are not available, but the reckoning made annually at Easter in her congregations shows that considerably over two millions partake of the Holy Communion at that season. Her professing adherents have been estimated at seven millions. The income accruing to the benefices from national funds amounts to somewhat over £5,000,000, to which have to be added nearly £7,000,000 of voluntary offerings.

For purposes of church government, England is divided into two provinces, Northern and Southern, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury respectively, the latter being known as the "Primate of all England." There are thirty-eight bishoprics, twenty-seven under Canterbury and eleven under York, and several new sees have been created in recent years. Each of the old cathedrals is governed by a Dean and "Chapter," consisting of from four to six Residentary Canons.

Convocation, the ancient deliberative body of the church, consists of two assemblies, one for each of the provinces. Each has an Upper and a Lower House, the former composed of the Archbishop and Bishops of the province, the other including the Deans, two Archdeacons from each diocese, and representatives of all the clergy holding the Bishop's license, according to their numbers in each diocese. Of late its influence has largely passed to the new Church Assembly, which has a limited power to legislate regarding church affairs, and in which the laity for the first time finds legal representation. The Assembly consists of the Northern and Southern Convocations sitting together with a House of Laity from each province added.

The decisions of the Church Assembly are subject to the approval of Parliament, but in recent years the Assembly has gained a restricted independent jurisdiction and the right to propose church laws in the name of the Church of England. The members of the Assembly are elected, except the bishops and other officials, by the parish councils. The laymen have therefore more influence than formerly when all power and authority was in the hands of bishops and clergy.

The Assembly is now confronted with the problems of reform in administration of church property and in the mode of the election of the clergy, old-age pensions, and the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, which has stood unaltered for three centuries. Anglo-Catholics are advocating such a revision, especially in regard to the Eucharist and the reservation of the elements.

England is divided theologically by powerful currents which are treated in the chapter on "The Changing Theological Front."

The revived life of the Church of England is largely due to the religious activity that expresses itself in the missionary, philanthropic, and social organizations. Of these may be mentioned the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church of England Men's Society, the Church Army, the Church of England Temperance

Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Industrial Christian Fellowship.

Until 1870 both higher and elementary education of England were very largely under the control of the church, but since then various Acts of Parliament, expressing the democratic tendency of the times, have placed the educational system of the country more and more on a national and undenominational basis. The church, however, still has a dominating influence in the older universities and the historic public schools, while she continues to maintain a class of elementary schools in which a distinctly Christian education is given.

After the Lambeth Conference in 1921 an appeal for reunion between Anglicans and Dissenters was issued to all Christians. A joint committee was appointed from both groups and substantial progress has been made in clarifying differing conceptions of the church, the ministry, and other vital problems. The chief obstacle lies in the recognition of the validity of ordination by Nonconformist groups by the Anglican Church. Once this difficulty is surmounted other phases of the problem can be more quickly arranged.

Coöperation between Dissent and the Establishment in practical social work has long been carried forward, the strongest manifestation being the Copec Conference, attended by fifteen hundred church leaders, eight hundred of whom were official church delegates.

In wealth of sacred scholarship, in cultivation of broad and sound Christian learning, in devotional feelings, in effort to enlist pure and worthy art in the service of religion, in endeavor to find a *via media* between the extremes of Protestant individualism and Roman Catholic authority, the Anglican Church occupies a position of high prestige in Christendom and illustrates some of the finest aspects of the English character and tradition. If her attitude in the past has been too often exclusive and intolerant, and some features in her present condition continue to cause anxiety to friends of evangelical truth, there are abundant signs that under wise guidance in the future this church will continue to accomplish a notable work.

The Church of England is suffering severely from a shortage of young ministers, attributed by the Archbishop's report to indifference and to intellectual and financial difficulties. It has been proposed that the newer universities be used as training centers in addition to the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

THE FREE CHURCH POSITION

There are at the present time in England and Wales over two million members within Free churches. This does not, however, give an adequate idea of the strength of these churches, as there is a growing tendency among worshipers to avoid actual membership. Regular worshipers are often equal to and sometimes outnumber accredited members. There are two million worshipers who are not on the books of any church. Furthermore, there is a large number of adherents who are neither members nor regular worshipers. There are five millions of people in England and Wales who are in more or less close association with the Free churches. The Sunday schools of the Free churches have in their classes three millions of scholars.

Since the war the Free churches have slowly but steadily been gaining ground. Churches in rural and provincial areas are attracting to their services larger congregations than a decade ago. This is due in no small measure to the spirit of alertness manifested by the churches themselves, the Free churches having a marked adaptability to new conditions.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church is the largest Free church in England, with 2,500 ministers, 18,000 lay preachers, 8,500 places of worship, and a membership of over 500,000. The standards of Wesleyan theology still remain Wesley's four volumes of sermons and his *Notes on the New Testament*, embodying a system of doctrine that may be described as Evangelical and Arminian. The polity, which is featured by Leaders' Meeting, Quarterly Meeting, District Synod, and Annual Conference, is an adaptation of Presbyterianism. Methodist ministers as a rule change their pastoral stations every three

years. In recent years the power of the laity in the Annual Conference has been considerably increased. A great home mission enterprise has been concentrated in central halls in the larger English towns and cities. Methodism in England still retains something of the fire which breathed through the life and work of John Wesley. The church life has been characterized by missionary spirit, emphasis upon conversions, and a deep emotional dedication.

Other branches of the Methodist family are the Primitive Methodist Church, formed in 1812, now numbering 1,091 ministers, 13,939 lay preachers, and over 400,000 members; and the United Methodist Church, formed in 1907 by a union of the Methodist Free Church, the Methodist New Connexion, and the Bible Christians, numbering 745 ministers, 5,542 lay preachers, and 186,000 members. These denominations give more prominence to the laity in their government than the parent body. In addition there are smaller Methodist bodies known as the Independent Methodists and the Wesleyan Reform Union. There is at present a strong movement towards uniting them all in one British Methodist Church.

The Congregationalists have a larger regular ministry than any other Free church in England, their pastors numbering 2,883, with a membership of over 451,000. The number of Congregational churches has decreased from 3,567 to 3,511 since 1903. The root principle of their polity is that each church or congregation is independent of all others in religious matters but all are joined together in a Union without legislative powers. Of late there has been an approximation to presbyterian practice in the appointment of a system of "Moderators" to superintend the organization of the church in districts of the country. Generally speaking, the Congregational churches accept the main evangelical doctrines, holding to the independence of the congregations, but there is no fixed authoritative creed imposed, unless by the trust deeds of individual congregations. The London Missionary Society represents the foreign mission effort of Congregationalism.

The Baptists have over 2,000 ministers, 5,000 lay preachers, and 413,841 members. Their polity is congregational, and

while they adhere as a whole to the baptism of believers by immersion as their distinctive principle, they differ as regards open and closed communion. Baptists are better represented than Congregationalists on the Continent of Europe; under the leadership of Dr. Rushbrooke they have organized an enormous relief work especially in Russia. They were the first Free church in England to organize a foreign mission enterprise.

The Presbyterian Church of England has 355 ministers and over 84,000 members. Its strength lies in London and the larger towns, and the bulk of its membership is drawn from those of Scotch or Northern Irish descent.

The Society of Friends, or Quakers, date from the remarkable ministry of George Fox in the seventeenth century. They discard the sacraments and the usual forms of church organization, adhering to the central doctrine of the "Inner Light" and to the chief articles of the orthodox Christian creed. The Quakers have an influence out of all proportion to their numbers, their membership being about 16,000. Their unwavering testimony to the cause of peace, their bold experiments in social service, and their large-hearted beneficence have put all churches in their debt. Especially during and since the war their conscientious adherence to their principles has won for them universal respect and not a few converts.

The Salvation Army, if scarcely to be regarded as a church, has earned a splendid preëminence for its work among the lowest and most degraded classes and for its wide-reaching philanthropic efforts.

English Unitarians have about 290 chapels. They stand for complete freedom of theological thought, their aims and methods naturally keeping them somewhat apart from the Evangelical Free churches. They number among their members several of the leading minds in the church life of England.

Wales

This little mountainous country, which lies so near to England, has had an independent religious history. Religion has

been closely wedded to the spirit of nationality. The Welsh have not been willing to accept alien forms of faith and worship and have preferred to develop a church life of their own. In the speech of the ancient Britons, which is still a living tongue among their hills and valleys, they have a language well fitted to express their deepest feelings.

The Reformation made Wales Protestant, but there was little enthusiasm for the bishops and clergy sent from England. An Act of Parliament passed in 1564 lamented that the population remained "in the like or rather more darkness and ignorance than they were in the time of papistry." The eighteenth century was well on its way before a spiritual movement stirred the country as a whole. It arose from within the Established Church, and resembled in many respects the Wesleyan revival in England except that Methodism in Wales took on a more Calvinistic color. A new church, known as the Calvinistic Methodist, came into being, and it gradually became distinctly Presbyterian in government. Baptist and Congregational communities were also organized. In the later nineteenth century a strong agitation began for the disestablishment of the Welsh branch of the Anglican Church on the ground that it represented only a minority of the people. This movement attained success in 1914, when a measure separating church and state in Wales was passed by the British Parliament and came into force in 1920.

The Episcopal Church in Wales is now, therefore, a body freed from state control, and with full powers of self-government. The process of disendowment was carried out on so liberal a scale as to provide it with ample financial resources for its new career, in which it has found a quickening of religious life and activity. The church is superintended by an archbishop and four bishops and has 985 pastoral charges. Communicants at Easter number about 160,000.

The Calvinistic Methodist Church, or Presbyterian Church of Wales, remains the strongest denomination, and the only one that has a really national origin. It has about 1,000 ministers, 1,500 congregations, and a communicant roll of 187,000. Less than a fourth of the congregations use the English lan-

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

WARTBURG CASTLE, WHERE LUTHER TRANSLATED THE SCRIPTURES INTO GERMAN

THE HOUSE OF JOHN KNOX IN EDINBURGH

guage in their services. No church gives greater attention to the higher education of both ministry and people. It carries on important mission work in India as well as a social movement in the Welsh centers of population.

Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists are also well represented in Wales.

Scotland

The Reformed Church was not established in Scotland until forty-three years after Luther had nailed his theses to the church door at Wittenberg, twenty-eight years after Henry VIII of England had revolted from Rome, and nineteen years after Calvin had set up his new ecclesiastical polity in Geneva. The Roman Church was thoroughly corrupt in Scotland, and the native love of liberty, thwarted by years of struggle with clerical and royal tyranny, could not be contented with half-measures of reform. John Knox was temperamentally qualified to lead his countrymen toward a thoroughgoing reformation of church life.

In 1560 the first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland met in Edinburgh and a polity and discipline were organized on Presbyterian lines, with a creed founded on the Bible and the teaching of John Calvin. In the *Book of Common Order* a simple liturgy was provided that gave voice to the devotions of Scotsmen for eighty years. The people were ripe for the adoption of Protestant worship and church government in absolute contradistinction to the papal ideal. The contest with Rome was short and victorious. Soon, however, there began another conflict, with prelacy, the obnoxious form of episcopacy that King James and his successors sought to force upon the church. Andrew Melville was the popular champion in this struggle, which was carried on with doubtful results until 1637, when the nation was aroused by the attempt to force an English-made service book on the Scottish Church. This led to the signing of the National Covenant, when nobles and citizens took a solemn pledge to resist all encroachments on their religious freedom. For fifty years the struggle went

on, through civil war and bitter persecution. At first the cause of the Covenant seemed to triumph. The dream of uniting the kingdom of Great Britain in the profession and practice of a Presbyterian Puritanism was realized for a while, and the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, which still remain the historic doctrinal standards of the Church in Scotland, were accepted in 1643 as the bond of union. But political divisions distracted the church, and the return of the Stuarts in 1660 meant relentless war against its liberties. The blood of the Covenanting martyrs was not shed in vain, for with the accession of William III in 1688 a settlement was reached, which made Scotland's Protestant Presbyterianism secure by statute and ended all attempts by kings and statesmen to impose an alien order upon the people.

A new struggle quickly developed. Queen Anne's Parliament in 1712 reimposed lay patronage on the church and so introduced in another form the fettering hand of state control and interference. A series of secessions began that sought to vindicate the rights of Christian democracy. The Erskines in 1733, Thomas Gillespie and his followers in 1761, and most important of all Thomas Chalmers, and others, led the "Disruption" in 1843, all leaving the church for the sake of gaining spiritual independence.

Since 1843 the trend has been slowly but steadily towards reunion. In 1847 the earlier seceding elements came together in the United Presbyterian Church. The Established Church showed signs of new life and activity, and in 1874 the obnoxious Patronage Law was repealed. This removed one great hindrance to union, but at first the cry for complete separation between church and state prevented any movement in that direction. There was nothing, however, ultimately to prevent the union of the Free Church, formed in 1843, with the United Presbyterian Church, and they blended in 1900 under the name of the United Free Church. The minority of the Free Church which refused to enter that union continued under the old name, but are commonly called the "Wee Frees." They differed from the larger body in adhering to the use of the Psalms only in praise, and in their stricter adherence to the

Westminster Confession of Faith. In both the Established and United Free churches a greater liberty came to prevail in interpreting the Bible and Christian doctrine. A movement for union between them began to show itself in 1908. Parliament in 1921 passed a measure which gave the Established Church entire freedom to manage its own affairs and this removed another obstacle. The chief one which remains is the question of the church's territorial endowments, which a section of the United Free Church desires to be devoted to public uses.

While the vast majority of the Scottish people is Presbyterian, there exist also an Episcopal Church in the country, allied to the Church of England, with 427 congregations and 55,000 communicants, bodies of Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists, as well as remnants holding to features of Presbyterianism that belong to the history of the past. The Roman Catholic Church has few native adherents, but has gained considerably in recent years through immigration from Ireland, now numbering over 520,000 communicants.

The Church of Scotland, the officially established body, has maintained a strong missionary effort ever since Alexander Duff began his work in Calcutta in 1830. The Free Church and the Church of Scotland have united in maintaining the Scottish Churches College in India. The Madras Mission was begun in 1836; in addition, there are the Poona, Punjab, and Eastern Himalayan Missions. Nearly a half-century ago the Church of Scotland founded a mission in Nyasaland as a memorial to David Livingstone and has recently extended this work to Portuguese East Africa, Tanganyika territory, and Kenya. A large mission was established at Ichang, China, as early as 1879. Both the large Scottish churches maintain extensive mission work among the Jews.

At the present time there are 1,466 parish churches of the Church of Scotland, with 248 chapels and mission stations, 1,820 ministers, with 14,000 elders and a membership of 756,000. The Westminster Confession of Faith is the authorized creed of the church. The formula of subscription for ministers and elders was revised in 1910 and reads: "I

hereby subscribe to the Confession of Faith, declaring that I accept it as the Confession of this Church, and that I believe the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith contained therein."

The United Free Church also maintains an extensive mission work in fifteen foreign fields in Africa, India, Manchuria, and the West Indies, having in all 614 men and women in this endeavor who are missionaries and 5,581 salaried agents. It gives support to three colleges in India and has made education a distinctive part of their missionary program. The United Free Church numbers 534,000 communicants.

The Free Church of Scotland numbers 140 congregations and over 10,000 communicants and a large number of adherents, chiefly in the Northern and Western Highlands.

Both the principal Scottish churches carry on a widespread home mission work and advanced Sunday school methods.

A great step was taken in 1923 when the United Free Church approved and sent down to the Presbyteries a new series of questions and a new preamble to be used at the licensing of probationers and at the ordination or induction of ministers. In the preamble in both cases, the following words occur: "By her Declaratory Acts she recognizes liberty of judgment on points of doctrine which do not enter into the substance of the Faith." The fourth question in both cases is: "Do you acknowledge the Westminster Confession of Faith as the Subordinate Standard of this Church, and do you believe the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith contained therein?"—a provision which would have saved American Presbyterianism from incalculable misunderstandings.

Intellectual fearlessness and spirituality have characterized all sections of the Scottish Church. Her theologians, historians, and preachers have made large contributions to contemporary Protestantism, having also done much to interpret Continental theology to American Evangelicalism.

Scotch divines have taken a keen interest in Continental church matters. Edinburgh is not only a great theological center, but it is also the headquarters for the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system. Under

the influence of men like Dr. J. R. Fleming, Professor Curtis, and MacDonald Webster the alliance is losing somewhat its Anglo-American character and since its recent conferences in Lausanne and Zurich has gained large influence among Continental churches.

The Scotch churches in recent years have united in rotation to their General Assemblies many of the most influential European church leaders and have granted numerous scholarships to Continental students, measures of vast importance in securing an ecumenical sense for the Protestant forces of Great Britain and Europe.

The union of the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland is only a matter of months; legislation was passed by Parliament in 1925 safeguarding all values in each branch. The new church will possess a membership of a million and a quarter souls and will be served by over three thousand trained ministers.

Ireland

The great majority of the Irish people remained Catholic, when all the other sections of the United Kingdom broke away from Rome. Forced into subjection to England, the Irish asserted their independence in the religious sphere, refusing to follow their conquerors in the direction of the Protestant Reformation. Had they done so, they would have won their political freedom sooner, and many a lurid page in the nation's history would not have been written.

Protestantism in Ireland then came to be identified with the principle of British ascendancy. For more than three centuries, episcopacy after the English form was established and endowed by law over all the land, notwithstanding its profession by a minority. This bore heavily, not only on the Roman Catholics of the South, West, and Center, but on the Presbyterians who colonized the North from Scotland. A Test Act, passed in 1704, compelled every person holding a position under the Crown to partake of the communion in an Episcopal church within three months after entering an office. In due

time such grievances were swept away, but not till 1869 did the Protestant establishment come to an end. Since then there has been growing unity between Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists, who are a small but actual group, in face of the dominant influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Church of Ireland, which represents the Protestant Episcopal body now freed from the state, is governed by a General Synod. There are 13 bishops, about 1,700 clergy, and a church population of about 575,000. A sum of over £8,000,000 was handed over, at the time of disestablishment and disendowment, by way of compensation, and it has considerably increased since. As might be expected, in a prevailing Roman Catholic country, there is scarcely any High Church or Anglo-Catholic party among the Protestant Episcopalians. On the contrary, there is a strong Orange or ultra-Protestant element in the North.

The Irish Presbyterian Church, formed in 1642, has its main strength in Ulster, the Northern province. The perseverance of the Scottish settlers and their descendants is the chief cause of the prosperity of that part of Ireland, and there is a militant quality about their belief and practice. This and the Scottish Church have exercised a large influence in molding American religious life. The church has over 560 congregations, 626 ministers, and 105,000 communicant members, and carries forward an extensive mission work in China and in India.

Chapter III

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

The three Scandinavian countries have developed a religious unity in recent years in spite of political tension which has at times threatened good relations. The Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish tongues are closely related and almost all the inhabitants in these countries can understand all three languages. Until the year 1807 Finland belonged to this group and has always been strongly influenced by the culture and religion of Sweden. Under Russian domination Finland developed her own way of life without losing her cultural contact with the countries to the west.

Scandinavia is overwhelmingly Lutheran, and Luther has no truer followers in his own country than in the North, where his ideas have been adopted by practically the entire population. There was no sharp division between Catholic and Protestant as in Germany, France, and Switzerland, the authorities introducing the new religion for entire countries.

Norway

Protestantism in its Lutheran form was established in Norway by the decree of a Danish-Norwegian king soon after the Reformation took form in Germany. At present it is the state religion, to which over ninety-seven per cent of the population conform, with the king as its chief representative.

From 1380 to 1814 Norway was united to Denmark and after 1814 it was joined with Sweden until 1905, when it became an independent kingdom. The national desire for freedom in all departments of life found powerful expression in such writers as Björnson, Ibsen, Hamsun, and others deeply concerned with the religious basis of life.

Norway is overwhelmingly Lutheran. Out of a population of 2,720,000 the Lutherans claim 2,680,000 with 514 parishes, divided into 6 dioceses with over 700 ministers in full time service. The Catholics number about 2,400 in all.

Church legislation is almost entirely in the hands of parliament. The Norwegian people are constitutionally receptive to the Lutheran form of church life. As evidenced by the Norse sagas, the Norwegians have always been strongly individualistic. Lutheranism, individualistic itself, took this trait and evangelized it. The full and free access to God without other mediation than that of Christ, the open Bible in the vernacular, the sacramental mysteries accessible to all believers, were teachings which met hospitable response in the deep Northern feeling and imagination. The conservative bent in Lutheran church government also met with favor in Norway.

The Free churches are represented by 10,986 Methodists, 4,703 Baptists, and 73 Quakers. The Mormons also have a small group of 464, and the Roman Catholics have 2,046 members, who are mostly aliens from other countries. The nation is overwhelmingly Lutheran.

About 1900 Norwegian life was deeply stirred by a young farmer evangelist, named Hans Neilsen, who produced a revival of great power, and although he was persecuted by both church and state he left a strong and austere influence upon his followers.

Missionary work in the state church began in 1830 under the influence of the Moravians, and in 1842 the Norwegian Missionary Society was founded which has sent scores of missionaries to the field. The missionary endeavors of the Northern countries are especially important since inflation destroyed the home base of mission work in Germany.

Norway is an example of a country in which a decided rift was noticeable for decades between the clergy and the laity, which led to the development of the Free Lay Mission conducted almost entirely by laymen, doing nursing and other philanthropic works, and making its voice count in all matters concerning the education of youth.

There are six bishoprics in Norway, containing in all eighty-

six archdiaconates. These are further divided into parishes totaling five hundred, in many of which there are more than one church. In all there are twelve hundred and thirty churches.

Children receive two kinds of religious instruction in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, preparation for confirmation and public school instruction.

Training in preparation for confirmation is carried on by local pastors who generally conduct two courses each year. Each child of fourteen years or more belonging to the state church is under obligation to attend but can on application be exempted from actual confirmation.

In the public schools all children over seven years of age receive religious instruction including Bible history, Luther's Shorter Catechism, hymns, Bible reading, and church history in the upper classes. Marks are given in these subjects on the same rating as for the other courses in the curriculum. Religious instruction in the lower grades is generally given by lay teachers while in the high schools local ministers are largely called in.

In the gymnasium, covering three years after graduation from high school, religious education is given in the form of lectures on church history, Christian ethics, and introduction to the Old and New Testaments. The courses are obligatory but no marks or examinations are given. Only men theologically trained are thus employed. One hour per week is given to religious instruction in the gymnasium, two hours in the high school and even more in the lower grades.

The Norwegian state church has passed through stormy waters in the struggle between the liberal and the conservative views on theological matters. A running fight has been carried on since 1890, when German advanced theology began to penetrate the country. This antagonism came to a head when the government in 1906 appointed the Reverend Doctor of Theology Johannes Ording professor of Dogmatics of the University Faculty of Theology at Oslo, then the only theological seminary in Norway for state church ministers. As a protest to the appointment of a pronounced liberal, Professor

Sigurd Odland, a conservative member of the same Faculty, resigned. In 1908 Professor Odland founded a private Theological Seminary in coöperation with Dr. Hallesby, who became the Professor of Dogmatics of the new seminary. The publication of Bishop Hench's *Against the Stream* contributed to this controversy. This new seminary, called the "Faculty of the parishes or congregations," is supported by private contributions of conservative members of the parishes throughout the country. The status of this Faculty is recognized by the government, all candidates from this seminary having the same rights and access to charges of the church as those who are graduated from the Theological Faculty of the university.

The liberal-conservative struggle became very bitter when one of the liberal leaders of the clergy, Dr. J. Gleditsch, was appointed bishop of Trondhjem by the government in spite of the conservative candidate getting the majority of the nominating ballots cast by the clergy and the representatives of the parishes in the see of Trondhjem. After this disappointment the conservatives nourished the hope that none of the bishops who were all of a more or less pronounced conservative bent, would agree to officiate at the ordination of the liberal bishop. However, at last the venerable bishop of Kristianssand, Right Reverend Stöylen, consented, after which the conservative leaders refused to have any dealings with him. Relations between the two factions of the church are at present correct but not cordial.

At the present time the government in its appointments recognizes and appoints theological professors and bishops who hold the liberal point of view, but among the middle classes the more conservative Lutheran orthodoxy holds sway. Among the general populace little importance is attached to doctrinal discussion and the chief emphasis is placed upon religious feeling. It is in this latter class that English and American Free church groups have made their widest appeal.

Theological battles are still extremely acrimonious. They may partly account for the great shortage of ministers, over 20 per cent of the parishes being vacant.

The new emphasis upon organization and practical works

of philanthropy brought in by the social message of the Free churches of other lands has enhanced the spiritual life of Norway, but it also brings the danger of denominationalism, which might split the religious homogeneity of the nation. The danger of a split is, however, more likely along lines of conservatism *versus* liberalism. Representatives of Free churches are apt to undervalue the benefits from a national church, and the spokesmen of the establishment are apt to be too individualistic and personal in their religious outlook. With the new interest in social questions, especially among the student classes, and with the development of industrialism, the entire Norwegian church will find itself compelled to take a wider interest in social questions.

The temperance movement has made great strides in Norway, receiving hearty support from the churches, although not all the clergy belong to the various temperance societies.

After the Russian Revolution, the communists organized their own anti-religious Sunday schools, but with little effect.

During and since the war the three national Lutheran churches of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark have been drawn closer together by the events centering about the conflict.

Sweden

The Evangelical Church in Sweden is the product of a progressing movement in its church history rather than the child of an ecclesiastical revolution. When Gustaf Vasa introduced the Gospel into Sweden, no statues of saints had to be burned and no windows broken. This ancient church has kept her bishops and can claim apostolic succession by the same token as does the Anglican Church. Her ancestral liturgy, her ancient ritual, her churchly costumes and music, are all emphasized afresh under the leadership of Archbishop Soederblom, a mixture of modernism with traditionalism which is bewildering and gratifying to the foreign visitor.

The Swedish Church was introduced by King Gustaf Vasa in 1540, under the spiritual leadership of Olaus and Laurentius Petri. People and bishops adopted the new faith. The

entire country became Evangelical. Gustavus Adolphus, who saved the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War, remains the great hero of church and state.

The attempt of Vasa to bring the church entirely under royal jurisdiction provoked a vigorous reaction, but a satisfactory solution was found which resulted in a close relationship between church and state. When the Socialist party grew in power in recent years, this relationship became the target for sharp attacks. The spiritual struggle in the North is one between Luther and Marx, rather than between church and state.

The Swedish Church at present is making a serious effort to bridge the gulf between itself and labor. In this field Nathanael Beskow has been a pioneer, having the ear of both the workers and the employing classes. He founded a high school for workers in Birkagarden and is also carrying on an active campaign in the interests of pacifism. A strong democratic feeling in the Church itself places wide power in the hands of the parishes.

Sweden has made important contributions to theology and to church unity in recent years. It has undergone a strong German influence, but has preserved its originality in its liturgy, considering Catholic elements in the cult as consistent with evangelical faith. Religious architecture in Sweden has also preserved its indigenous character.

Under the leadership of Runestam, Billing, Bohlin, G. Aulen, and especially Archbishop Soederblom, a remarkable advance in theological work with a specific Northern character has taken place. Notable revivals of religion have occurred intermittently in the last century under the influence of such men as Heuric, Schartau and Rosenius.

A new interest in metaphysics has emphasized the objective facts in the Gospel without losing the value of critical method. "We must be more positive than the old theology, and more radical than the new," has been the watchword of the new group, which assert the necessity of a theology based on God's revelation of Himself in Christ rather than on the date of human religious consciousness. This group are less concerned

with modern culture, history, and psychology, and more with exploring and understanding the life portrayed in the Gospels. In this they have a certain kinship with the German theology of crisis as represented by Barth, although God's love is more emphasized in this Swedish theology than in its German counterpart. Swedish theologians are at present more interested in the Christian problems of ecumenical communion than any other group on the Continent.

Rationalism has never struck as deep roots in Swedish theology as elsewhere. An unshattered fidelity to the old confessions has been considered compatible with the acceptation of modern methods of Biblical criticism. This has been due mainly to the influence of Pietism under the leadership of Schartau. Another leader, Rosenius, emphasizing the doctrine of the atonement, has constantly pointed to the church as the most effective instrument for redeeming the life of the nation. Waldenstrom has developed a Congregational ideal of the church, and Billing has put fresh life into the old Lutheran conception.

Towards the end of the last century Anglican evangelicalism gained influence in Sweden, which led to a mutual recognition of ecclesiastical orders. The emphasis which both churches lay on the element of adoration in the cult and reverence for the church has further contributed to the spiritual bond between the Swedish Church and the Church of England.

Swedish church life is characterized by a synthesis of historic evangelical Lutheranism with a magnificent ritual symbolism and the free use of modern theological method, whereby special emphasis is laid on the deeper social and religious significance of the church as the divine element in history.

The Temperance movement has made headway in Sweden, where a special system of liquor sales stores have been inaugurated by the government, thereby greatly curtailing drunkenness.

The Christian Student movement is strong throughout the schools and universities of Sweden and is supported by the whole church.

The Inner Mission work found a center in *Diakonisstyrelsen*

founded in 1910, whose members are elected by the Church Conference, a happy combination between the liberty of action of private agencies and the authority which the church can give.

Sweden carries on a widespread and effective missionary work, the Lutherans alone maintaining nine large mission societies, working in South Africa, India, the Congo, Turkestan, China, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem. The church is composed of 13 bishoprics, and 2,513 parishes. In 1849 a group of Swedish church people, hearing of the social enterprises of Frau Haerter in Strassburg, united to promote a similar work. To-day in Sweden there are four flourishing deaconesses' homes. The one in Stockholm has 400 deaconesses, 74 novices, and 32 teachers. Another in Upsala, the *Samariterhemmet,* has 100 deaconesses and 140 beds at its disposal for the sick, an innovation started in 1912. Two other institutions are located in Härnös and Gothenberg.

In August of 1925 Sweden was the center of interest of the whole non-Catholic world as the meeting place of the Ecumenical Conference on Life and Work. The Swedish Church was particularly happily situated for this task, combining in itself the Lutheran heritage and many of the elements of the Anglican Church.

The personal attendance of the Crown Prince at all sessions of the Conference, the cordial good-will of the entire royal family, the inspiring personality of Archbishop Soederblom, and the enthusiasm of the press and the people for the ecumenical gathering, did much to make the Conference effective.

The relations between Scandinavian churches and the state are the most satisfactory of any establishment on the Continent.

Denmark

Few countries have won more interest in the development of social, cultural, and economic life than has Denmark in the last two decades. Church life is on a firm foundation follow-

ing historic lines which were laid down shortly after the spread of the Reformation to the countries surrounding the Baltic.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church is the established Danish Church, of which the king must be a member. Denmark has a population of 3,267,831, over ninety-nine per cent of whom are Lutheran, while 5,422 are Catholic. This church not only receives state subsidies, but the authorities of the establishment are state officials and the highest executive is the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs appointed by the government. The internal affairs of the church are handled by its own officials, but legislation on church matters is passed by parliament and approved by the king.

The Reformation was introduced as early as 1522, the king becoming the head of the new church, but only in external affairs.

The state church is divided into nine districts, each presided over by a bishop of whom the Bishop of Zealand is Primus. The church has 91 deaneries, over 250 parishes, 1,517 pastors, 2,215 churches, and 3,267,831 members, with 2,000 Sunday schools with a total of over 70,000 pupils. Religious instruction is given in the public schools at least two hours each week. It is not uncommon for the children to receive four hours in the rural districts.

A strong missionary interest has existed since 1821. A vigorous work is carried on for Danish *diaspora* in Greenland, Iceland, and in the Faroe Islands, and four foreign mission societies maintain 55 missionaries and projects in India, China, Santol, Syria, the Sudan, and in Africa. The Danish Church sent the first Lutheran missionaries to foreign countries.

A thriving Inner Mission activity supports 200 workers and 150 *colporteurs,* with 580 Inner Mission homes. Three deaconesses' homes have in active service over 600 deaconesses. In recent years the people of the Danish Lutheran Church have fed and housed over 70,000 undernourished children from Germany and Austria.

In addition to the established church, Denmark has several other Protestant religious bodies, including the Baptists with four churches in and about Copenhagen numbering over 6,900,

the Evangelic Brotherhood, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Salvation Army, the Free Mission, the Free Church Community, Christ's Church, Martin's Church, the Methodists with three churches in Copenhagen numbering over 4,800, and the Congregation of the New Church.

Although the Danish constitution provides that the constitution of the established church shall be formally adopted by parliament, no successful attempt has yet been made to draw up such a constitution. The separation of church and state has frequently been discussed, but under the present favorable conditions it will probably be some time before such a step is taken.

The church has no synod, parliament and the prime minister being the heads of the church with all local questions left to the Congregational church councils. The church is divided into dioceses with bishops, the Bishop of Sealand being *primus inter pares.*

The Danish Church has encountered the same difficulties which faced the German group, Pietism, orthodoxy, and rationalism.

Nikalai Fred. Severin Gruntvig (1783-1872), the most prominent figure in the Danish Church in the nineteenth century, a representative of romanticism as opposed to rationalism, the founder of the National High School movement, was the leading Danish religious philosopher at the close of the last century. As a result of Gruntvig's efforts Denmark now has an educational ideal second to none. The rural population is one of the best educated in the world. Among other works he organized free People's Congregations in the national churches. He created a new and virile type of Christianity in Denmark, emphasizing the sacraments in place of the extreme Biblicism which had grown up in certain quarters.

Soren Kierkegaard, a Danish thinker, looms large in the recent religious history not only of his country but throughout Europe. The Gospel as he conceived it was opposed to human reason. He despaired of a church which he feared was lost in compromise with the world. The "Terrible Dane" is now

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being studied in many quarters where there is interest in personal religion.

Entire freedom of conscience is given for believers of any sect to unite in communities for worship, provided their teaching or actions do not conflict with moral laws or public order.

Inner Mission work was promoted by Wilhelm Beck in 1901, a noted church leader, emphasizing the inner life more than practical works of social service. Dr. Jörgensen, a prominent figure in Danish Inner Mission work was one of those taking part in the famous Bethesda Conference in 1922 which originated the European Central Bureau for the Relief of Evangelical Churches. Over 600 circles, 200 lay workers, and 535 assembly buildings are employed in the Inner Mission work. Copenhagen has a mission of its own with 31 missionaries and an organization doing special evangelization work in the slums.

Denmark has not only an excellent religion but also a daily press which shows much interest in religion. Coöperation between pastors and laymen is a notable characteristic. Each parish has its local board of philanthropy, all of which are united under a national organization headed by Doctor Joergensen.

The problem of the correct relations between church and state is in the foreground, the majority desiring to keep the state church. All parties including Labor are giving their best efforts to an equitable solution.

Four currents at present dominate Danish church life—a High Church tendency, Gruntvigianism, Inner Mission activity, and the religious social movement.

Church life throughout the kingdom has been vastly benefited by the intelligent and helpful attitude of the ruling dynasty.

The small island of Iceland had a long struggle against Danish domination, a solution to which was found in 1915 by the status of a Free State closely connected with Denmark and recognizing her king. The distance from Denmark allows very little connection with the world abroad. Bishop Helgson is the leader of this island church with 95,000 inhabitants to care for, almost all of whom are Lutherans. It has 115 par-

ishes with 109 pastors. In spite of apparent isolation, Pietist and Theosophist movements have penetrated to these far Northern coasts. Inner Mission work has taken a firm rooting in the life of the church.

Iceland has an old Germanic culture with a splendid Lutheran church life. A small Catholic congregation carries on its work harmoniously among the overwhelmingly Lutheran population.

Chapter IV

THE NETHERLANDS

When the Dutch people began to fight the Spaniard in 1568, embarking upon a war which lasted for eighty years, they had only one asset, their religion. Puritan Calvinists, many of whose descendants found their way to the American colonies, joined the Dutch in their struggle for national and spiritual independence. In 1568 representatives of the Dutch churches met outside of the Netherlands to organize the future Church of Holland, "when God would have opened up the door for His Word."

The establishment of the Reformed People's Church is linked with the birth of the free Dutch nation. Although it became the national church of the Netherlands, dissenting churches were tolerated. The French Revolution, which had its repercussions in Holland, put all churches on equal footing, and in 1816 the Dutch Reformed Church was organized in its present form and embraces in its membership seventy-five per cent of the Protestant population. The Queen of Holland is herself a descendant of Admiral Coligny and an ardent Protestant.

With the beginning of the twentieth century a widespread movement of indifferentism set in, especially among the prosperous educated and commercial classes. The philosophy of materialism has also bitten deeply into the consciousness of the Netherlands working classes, although in rural districts the percentage is lower. This movement has taken away from the churches the indifferent sections which are bound to accumulate in a national church and is therefore not to be viewed with alarm.

One of the most striking things in Dutch life is the existence of a genuine Christian Labor Union movement. Its

two branches, Catholic and Protestant, unite over forty per cent of the organized forces of labor. These organizations have about 230,000 members, the Roman Catholic unions numbering 155,000 and the evangelical unions some 75,000. The nominal and indifferent church members and freethinkers have formed a second powerful labor organization built upon the Marxist German school.

Religion is a strong factor in the political life of Holland. Catholic and Protestant parties in Parliament first united on the question of school politics, when the liberals refused to comply with the request of Christian parents for religious training in the schools. Along with this first venture in a "Catholic-Protestant coalition" came other important issues which Protestants and Catholics could approach in a common endeavor. There has necessarily been some friction in this alliance, which is unique in the annals of parliaments, but both parties to it have discovered more common and unifying ideals than causes for separation and antagonism. The "Christian coalition" in Parliament has exerted great influence in the government. Dr. A. Kuyper and Baron Dr. Lohmann among the Protestants, and on the Catholic side Professor Schaepman, have been the organizers of the political forces of the Christian confessions.

A bitter struggle between orthodox and liberal groups raged in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The tension has been lessened in recent years, as Dutch liberals have become more conservative and evangelical and as a large group of the orthodox have accepted some of the indisputable facts of modern Biblical methods.

Dutch evangelical Christianity suffers from struggles between different ecclesiastical parties. There is perhaps no country on the Continent where there is so little collaboration between the single churches and parties. The different tendencies have found their strongest expression in two alliances: the Confessional Association and the Reformed Alliance. There is also a strong group of adherents to Kohlbrugge, who has many disciples in America, emphasizing the Bible as the sole guide for private and church life.

The Netherlands has a population of 7,086,913, of whom 2,826,633 belong to the Netherland Reformed Church, 100,000 to the Lutheran, 2,055,044 to the Roman Catholic, 550,000 to the Old Reformed, 15,000 to the Jewish, 30,000 to the Remonstrants, 64,000 to the Mennonites, 10,000 to the Old Catholic, 63,000 to other denominations, while 300,000 are not affiliated with any religious organization.

The Netherland Reformed Church, although it has been the established church for centuries, is now one among a number of churches all of which are independent and self-governing. This church unites widely different groups, including conservatives, a middle ethical party, and liberals. The controversy between the extreme wings is often severe, but no attempt is made to drive out members or groups who hold uncongenial views.

The Netherland Reformed Church embraces 1,400 congregations and more than 1,650 pastorates. A modified Presbyterian system of government is followed. Theologically this church follows the Confession of Guido de Bray of 1561, the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563, and the Canons of Dordrecht of 1619. Although a majority of the ministers belong to the Orthodox party the greater part of the church attendants hold a more liberal view.

The theological faculties of the universities are supported partly by the state and partly by the church. In Utrecht, Leiden, and Groningen the church has the right to appoint two ecclesiastical professors for systematic and practical theology, while the other branches are represented by the state professors, mostly of a liberal tendency.

The structure of the church is a rather strange combination of Presbyterian, Congregational, and collegiate principles. The congregations enjoy the right of self-administration, electing the board and appointing the minister. The individual congregation is organized along the lines of Presbyterianism, while the structure of the church as a whole, by providing for a collegiate system of church government and making the General Synod a creation of the Boards rather than of the church constituency, brings in an element foreign to Reformed ideals.

The Reformed Churches in the Netherlands is the official name adopted by two dissenting Reformed Churches, one of which had separated in 1834, the Christian Reformed Church, and the other, the Low German Mourning Reformed Church, in 1886, and which merged, adopting the above name, in 1892. Theologically this church is Calvinist and follows the church order of Dordrecht. The secessionist movement in the Netherland Reformed Church in both cases was started by certain sections of the church over questions of church discipline and doctrine. The right to a strict and binding interpretation of the creed, and the right to a strictly Presbyterian government were the main issues over which no understanding could be found. The dissenting group convened a conference in 1883, which laid down principles for the secession which took place some years later.

Dr. van Bergh, Savornin Lohmann, Dr. Rutgers and Dr. Abraham Kuyper became soon the leading spirits in this movement. Eighty ministers and presbyters were removed and in a short time 200 congregations joined them. The first synod took place in Utrecht, a second in Leenwarden in 1890, and a third in The Hague in 1891. The new church, under the leadership of Dr. Kuyper, strengthened its finances and undertook the spiritual reorganization of the new church, which began several home and foreign mission enterprises and founded a Free university in Amsterdam and a seminary in Kampen. Dr. Kuyper became so popular for his eminent gifts that he was elected Premier of Holland. The ideals of this group spread into Germany, Hungary, and Switzerland. He founded a political party which sought to make a strict application of Christianity to all phases of public and educational life which has had a profound influence. The basic questions at issue in the two cases were so much alike that the two secessionist parties found no great difficulty in uniting with each other. About seven hundred congregations of the two types are thus united. The basic Presbyterian principle is strictly adhered to in the organization of the church. The local presbytery and the district assemblies and synods, organized on a strictly Presbyterian basis, are the sole governing organs of the church.

When the dissident Christian Reformed Church in 1892 united with the Mourning Reformed Church, a certain number of congregations did not fall in line for reasons of conscience and remained outside the union. Thus in 1892 the Christian Reformed Church (Restored) was formed, comprising about one hundred congregations. The credal basis is the same as in the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, namely, the confession of the Synod of Dordrecht, and the Heidelberg Catechism, the Dutch Confession of Guido de Bray, and the Five Articles against the Remonstrants, but in the Restored Church no dissension or reservation is tolerated. This church is entirely independent from the state. The state recognized it in 1869 after having persecuted it. Formerly it was forbidden for more than nineteen persons to meet for worship according to this communion. In 1919 the Christian Reformed Church founded its own seminary in Apeldoorn.

The Lutheran Church in Holland owes its origin and existence to German and Scandinavian immigration. The first Lutheran church was built in 1633. The Church has been handicapped in its growth by the differences which have arisen on doctrinal questions between the liberal and conservative wings. In 1791 this led to a separatist movement and the subsequent founding of the Restored Evangelical Lutheran Church.

A peculiar characteristic of Dutch Lutheran churches is the absence of altar, crucifix, pictures, and liturgy; worship consisting of a simple preaching service with hymns, prayers, and Scripture, in an unadorned building. A Lutheran church is outwardly distinguished from other churches by a swan, this being the most popular symbol of Luther and Lutheranism in Holland. The communion table within the church is covered with green.

Dutch Lutherans maintain a flourishing missionary society in the Dutch East Indies and a deaconesses' house in Amsterdam. The Lutherans are cordial in their relationships with other churches both within and without the Netherlands.

The Restored Evangelical-Lutheran Church was founded as an ecclesiastical association in 1833, with an Amsterdam con-

gregation that had separated in 1791 and added to itself seven other communities. It numbers about 20,000 members and maintains a theological seminary which is connected with the University of Utrecht. Both doctrine and liturgy are uniform and binding, different from the other Lutheran body. The Restored Church appoints ordained ministers of the sister church, but there is no reciprocity in this procedure. Efforts toward union of the two Lutheran bodies have so far met with failure.

The Remonstrant Fellowship originated in the Synod of Dordrecht, which excluded from the communion of the Reformed Church a group of people who refused to acknowledge the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination and election. The short Napoleonic reign nearly brought financial ruin to the communities. At present their membership is about 20,000, with 28 congregations, mostly in the larger cities. They profess an undogmatical Christianity and lay stress on practical philanthropy. The congregations are autonomous as to the election of the Board and minister and in all matters relating to the internal church life. The range of the competencies of the Synod, the legislative organ, is very limited. The ministry is open to women, as with the Mennonites, their closest resemblance in church life. A seminary belonging to this church is connected with the University of Leiden.

The Mennonites are organized in 120 congregations with a total membership of 60,000 persons. The organization is of a purely Congregational type, the individual congregation being autonomous. They have been characterized by an undogmatic Christianity, a preponderance of charitable works over doctrinal discussion, the rejection of infant baptism, and the self-sufficiency of the individual congregation. There is no legal federation or central organization of the congregations. The General Mennonite Society is a relief organization granting aid to theological students at the Mennonite seminary in Amsterdam and to poor congregations, but has of late become a general promotive organ for all the congregations.

The majority of the congregations are liberal and women are admitted to the ministry. Swearing by oath is not prac-

ticed, but the principle of non-resistance is no longer universally held by them.

In recent years Netherlands Mennonites have furnished a number of cabinet ministers, members of parliament, and burgomasters.

The Walloon parishes in Holland have maintained an independent life and work, clinging tenaciously to independence in religion as well as in language.

Practically all of the Protestant denominations are engaged in foreign and home missionary work, many having their own societies. Nearly all groups are represented in the flourishing Christian Student movement.

Chapter V

THE LATIN COUNTRIES

France

French Protestantism, numbering only a little over a million members including Alsace-Lorraine, is significant because of its history and the intellectual and spiritual caliber of its present adherents. Protestant groups, for different reasons, coincide with French labor at the present time in upholding the legislation of 1905 separating church and state. The religious struggle in France is a head-on conflict between two opposing ideas of the proper relations between state and church, a battle which has been joined intermittently for three centuries.

Protestantism has been the hereditary foe of autocracies and hierarchies, both secular and ecclesiastical. It has stood for individual judgment. On the other hand, the Catholic philosophy of state is built upon the idea of a prior allegiance to Rome and has the avowed ultimate goal of directing all activity within the state of both the religious and secular arms. Protestants look forward to a future when all human interests shall be spiritualized, but it does not feel that the Catholic Church or any other ecclesiastical body is wise enough or spiritual enough to take entire charge of the procedure. Of the two conflicting ideas at the present time, the Protestant philosophy of state more nearly conforms with the fundamental political principles underlying the French Republic. Democracy and the Roman hierarchy are essentially conflicting ideals, which explains to some extent the Royalist leanings of clerical groups in European countries.

The Catholic Church in France, as in fact in every country, makes claims which cannot be reconciled with any government save a theocracy directed from Rome. It has never, in any

encyclical, thrown over its ancient claim of being divinely commissioned to oversee the whole social order. This unwillingness to recognize the ethical claims of other bodies of believers and non-believers within the state—a dominant trait of French Catholicism for centuries—has caused those who believe in the complete autonomy of the state, with government by representation from various groups, to look askance at too close a *rapprochement* with the Vatican.

The French Protestant sees issues referred to Rome and orders sent out from Rome, not as question and answer in a matter of conscience, but as moves in a long politico-religious game that has been played for centuries between the Holy See and the Quai d'Orsay. The Gallic Calvinist and his Protestant brothers are in accord with the Red worker, who may have a mental twist against religion, believing it to be a spiritual sedative administered in the interests of a standing order, in opposing a return to Catholicism, because each believes in the sanctity of private judgment.

Catholic and Protestant theology are one in holding that a man's supreme allegiance should be to God, even though this allegiance bring him to the necessity of fighting against his country, or of refusing to fight for it, in order to maintain his belief. But the two part company when the Catholic points to an infallible Vicar who purports to speak for God on earth.

That there should be a reaction against Catholicism in France in the midst of what appears to be a significant movement towards the Roman Catholic Church is due to the Catholic Church itself. French Catholics would clear the air if they should cease to base their appeal to allow exiled orders to remain in France on the ground of heroism—for were not all Frenchmen heroic, from Verdun to the Manche?—stating clearly the kind of state France would be, could the Roman Church control. Perhaps Rome has thrown over old papal monopolistic claims; if so, she would strengthen her cause by making such a statement. Many Frenchmen are nervous on this point. Although the government is embarrassed in exiling a priest with the red ribbon of a *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur* upon his cassock, it must either do so or amend its

laws, or—let them fall into abeyance, as it is doing at the present time. There is no reason why the Catholics of France should not have appropriate legislation passed, or unjust legislation repealed. But Catholics might bring this about more quickly if they would give up publicly the ancient claims to directing the entire state. Catholicism in France has not yet been of the live-and-let-live variety.

When the war came in 1914 the *Union Sacrée* was formed, an alliance of all sections of French opinion. Catholics of whatever religious order were allowed to return and fight for France. They distinguished themselves on every front and did much to wipe out the mistrust of the priesthood which had gradually grown up in modern France. When the war was concluded, no definite policy was followed by the government. This led Catholics to believe that the laws of 1901 and 1905 were permanently in abeyance. How long would the spirit of tolerance created by the *Union Sacrée* towards religious orders continue? Would the government, especially the Left Republican and Radical groups, dare to raise a voice against men who had bled for France? No one knew. Catholics stumbled into a misunderstanding, relying too much on the war record of her gallant priests and forgetting that millions of other Frenchmen of different views had rendered equally heroic service. The government added to a perplexing situation by delay and lack of policy.

Journalistic discussions upon the subject have been largely based upon the assumption that France is a Catholic country, and that, for purposes of state action, Catholic interests are almost the only ones to be considered. France, though historically associated with Rome, is not a Catholic country in the same sense as Poland. The most reliable Catholic statisticians, such as Georges Goyau, do not place the number of practicing Catholics as more than one-fourth of the population. A large section of the French are indifferent to the claims of any church, their religious ideals being akin to the freethinking found in all non-German-speaking sections of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the Catholic Church reaped the harvest of a too close association with the Hapsburgs.

Protestants stand against the multiplication of church schools. They believe frankly in a different approach to God than the one inculcated by the teaching orders of the Catholic Church. They believe that a better type of civilization can come eventually through freedom from authority than may be imposed by a powerful and dogmatic church, and they know with how large a price of blood and humiliation intellectual and spiritual liberty has been bought in France. They cannot forget that they have been battling on the same issue since the night of the 26th of May, 1559, when one hundred and fifty Calvinists gathered privately in the Faubourg Saint-Germain and constituted what later became the First National Synod. That issue is the conflict between the private mind and authority. Huguenots feel that the massacre of three thousand Protestants at Toulouse, and the exploits of Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé, did as much for French freedom as Washington did for the liberties of America. The seventy thousand martyrs who fell after St. Bartholomew's day, for whose death the Pope celebrated a *Te Deum,* are as dear to them as are the Scottish martyrs or the men who died at Bunker Hill to their countrymen. The defense of La Rochelle for a year, yielding only a city of corpses to the victorious Richelieu, is but a part of their spiritual heritage. They cannot forget the suppressions of Louis XIV, urged on by Mazarin, Madame de Maintenon, and Père la Chaise. They are children of those who fled after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, some of whom settled with fellow Scotch and Irish Calvinists at Mecklenburg, North Carolina, and wrote the first Declaration of Independence in the New World. They know that only the religious indifference caused by the cynicism of Voltaire restored their civil liberties and that only the Revolution, with its leveling of all authority save its own, made it possible for them, later, to regain their religious rights.

In the face of Protestant history in France, the non-Catholic is apt to look with something of amusement or chagrin at the Catholic outcry of "baiting the Church" when the *Cartel de Gauche* abolishes the embassy to the Vatican or when papal claims are disputed. He distinguishes between persecution

and opposition at the polls, between intolerance and honest disagreement, and wishes that the representatives of Rome would do the same.

Disestablishment, although a serious blow to the Catholic Church, has probably been a boon. "She is rid of her shackles, poor, but free," remarked Vicomte d'Avenel.

It is increasingly difficult to man the local parishes, in spite of the increased popularity of the Church. In the Diocese of Amiens 400 priests are serving 836 parishes, and in the Diocese of Versailles 318 churches are without a curé.

The Protestant Church was not unprepared for the law of 1905, which nationalized $200,000,000 worth of property and separated church and state. Out of 1,300 pastors only 700 had been salaried by the state, the newer Free churches not having been officially recognized as entitled to state support. The French Protestant churches organized themselves into two bodies after the law of 1905, the Union of Evangelical Reformed Churches, and the Union of the Reformed Churches, a separation less due to doctrinal differences than to conditions of membership. The Reformed churches number 645 parishes, the Lutheran 261, and the other denominations 132.

The Union of Evangelical Reformed Churches accepted as its basis the Declaration of Faith of La Rochelle adopted by the last synod of all the Reformed churches in France in 1872, which was later adopted by the Synods of Orleans and still later by the Synod of Rheims in 1906, declaring "The sovereign authority of the Holy Scripture in matters of faith and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, who died for our sins and was resurrected for our justification." This church numbers 400 congregations and has organized itself legally into 446 *associations cultuelles* with about 80,000 voting members, distributed in 20 regional unions and holding an annual synod. A distinguished minister, Pasteur Morel, is president of this wing of French Protestants.

The Union of Reformed Churches of France was formed from a liberal group of "United Reformed Churches" and a mediating group who had remained out of all organizations with the hope of bringing them together ultimately. The

Union of Reformed Churches has the same organization as the Union of Evangelical Reformed Churches and consists of 10 regional unions, embracing 180 pastors, 200 congregations, and 56,000 members. It is based on a declaration of principles adopted by the Synod of Paris in 1907, similar to the Evangelical Declaration but asserting the duty and the right of Christians to apply the principle of free research, *libre examen,* to Biblical study and the necessity of a reconciliation between modern thought and the Gospel. "Seeking first of all a union of the heart and the will to serve Christ and not a dogmatic uniformity which would be incompatible with personal faith, the Church leaves to all churches uniting with it full liberty to express their faith in one of the different symbols employed in Protestantism which in unsufficient formulas and human words contain the substance of the Gospel and emphasize the two principles of Protestantism, faith and liberty." At the head of this liberal group stand Pasteur Wilfred Monod and A. N. Bertrand, two distinguished Frenchmen whose names have been connected with nearly every movement for social and spiritual betterment in France for two decades.

The Evangelical Lutheran Churches of France date from the early years of the Reformation, giving their martyrs in the first persecutions beginning in 1520. Later the Lutheran Church, being connected with embassies, remained relatively undisturbed. In the nineteenth century the Lutheran Church was greatly strengthened through its relationship with the Alsatian Lutherans and those in Montbéliard. The War of 1870 brought the loss of its university in Strasbourg, 194 of its parishes, 250 of its 330 ministers, and 270,699 members. In 1872 a new organization was adopted by which the two dioceses of Montbéliard and Paris were united in one synod. As this church was maintained mainly by voluntary subscriptions, it did not suffer from the financial alteration resulting from the Law of Separation. To-day it has 58 churches with 80 ministers, two ecclesiastical inspectors and 30,000 members, with the Augsburg Confession as its doctrinal basis. M. de Pourtalès of Paris is at present a leader in this group and occupies the office of president.

The Union of Free Evangelical Churches of France includes 48 churches united under a Synodical Commission with 50 pastors and evangelists, with a professor in the Theological Faculty in Paris, and several missionaries in Africa.

The Evangelical Methodist Churches of France are the lineal descendants of Methodists who found their way to France in 1818, when a Wesleyan, Charles Cook, with English help organized within the Reformed Church a society for evangelization. To-day there are 30 Methodist parishes and 30 pastors, under the leadership of Pasteur Roux of Paris.

The French-speaking Baptist Churches are the result of the missionary activity of the Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of the Northern Baptist Convention of the United States and have maintained a helpful relationship to the McAll Mission. There are at present 29 Baptist churches, organized in two bodies, under the leadership of Pasteur Farelly of Roubaix, having close connection with Belgian and Swiss Baptists.

The Independent churches number 30 churches with 40 pastors and evangelists, scattered over France, for the most part on the littoral, in Savoy and Normandy.

The churches of Alsace-Lorraine remain established and under a different régime. Protestantism is more compact in Alsace than in any other part of France, largely due to the separate historical development of the province. During the formative stage of the Reformation, Alsace played an important part in being the mediator between Wittenberg and Geneva. Martin Butzer, the Reformer of Strasbourg, not only exercised a personal influence upon Calvin but was instrumental in preparing for the Reformation in England, under Edward VI. Later a distinct *rapprochement* was made with the Lutherans and a corresponding detachment from the Reformed forces. The spread of the Reformation was stopped in Alsace, as in the rest of Germany, with the law of 1555 which made the confession of the reigning prince compulsory with the population of his territory, *eius regio, eius religio.* When Alsace passed into the hands of Louis XIV, religious freedom was granted to Protestants on Alsatian soil, a freedom which they enjoyed until the French Revolution. The

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the subsequent persecution of Protestantism in France under Louis XIV did not extend to Alsace.

In 1802 Napoleon organized the Alsatian Protestant churches into the Church of the Augsburg Confession, while the Reformed churches, fewer in number, formed five "consistories" which were not unified until 1895.

Important contributions have been made by Alsace to the Protestant Church at large. In addition to the works of Butzer, mention should be made of Spener, the father of the Pietist movement in Germany in the seventeenth century; of Oberlin, whose name is commemorated in the United States by having been given to two cities and an important college; and of the so-called Strasbourg school of theology in the 1860's and 1870's, which inaugurated a French Protestant theology and established a scholarly tradition of high standards.

Protestants in Alsace have been marked by a constant emphasis upon practical Christianity, manifested in widespread and well-organized home mission works and an active interest in the Basel Mission and the Paris Foreign Mission. One of the most distinguished living missionaries is an Alsatian, Albert Schweitzer, a philosopher and theologian of world-wide fame, the organist of the Paris Bach Society, and now a medical missionary in French Equatorial Africa.

The Church of the Augsburg Confession in Alsace and Lorraine is an official name which indicates historical origins rather than describes a definite dogmatic status of the church. The church, with 241 congregations, numbers about a quarter of a million souls. Pending the final adjustment of the relations between state and church in the new provinces, in conformity with the status in the rest of France, the Lutheran Church in Alsace-Lorraine, as well as the Reformed Church, remains a state institution. The organization of the church is Presbyterian in structure. The executive power is with a directorate consisting of five members, three of whom are appointed by the government. The other two members represent the synod of the church. In spite of its being a state church, the Lu-

theran Church in Alsace-Lorraine is democratic both in organization and in spirit.

The Reformed Church in Alsace and Lorraine is composed of the union of the 71 Reformed churches of the two provinces consummated in 1895. Its character as a state church is less accentuated than that of the Lutheran Church, and its organization even more democratic. The synod meets once a year; its decisions being carried out by a synodal commission. The constituency of the Reformed Church is about 50,000 souls, in 42 congregations and a few dependent stations. The state treasury pays the ministers' salaries and makes certain other financial contributions.

The two churches have suffered heavily from the war. The churches and charitable institutions were compelled to place their funds in German state bonds, whose value has been annihilated. Many congregations, especially in Lorraine, lost large numbers of contributors when Germans from the homeland left the provinces in consequence of the annexation by the French.

The church in Alsace and Lorraine is bilingual. German was the religious language of the people even during French rule; it will be the dominant language in many congregations for a long period to come. The shortage of ministers here, as in other European churches, is a grave question. Economic dislocation and the death of many seminarians in battle are only now beginning to be felt in their severest aspects. The burning question for Alsatians is whether or not the French government shall introduce the principle of disestablishment adopted for the rest of France. Although Catholics are more strongly opposed to disestablishment than Protestants, both desire their ancient school systems and freedom to use German as well as French.

French Protestantism has not been distinguished in recent years for the quality and number of its home mission enterprises, especially among the Reformed churches. Wilfred Monod, Charles Gide, Branquis Fuzier, Elie Gounelle, Pourtalès, Bertrand, Edmond de Pressensé, Gouth, de Witt-Guizot, Dürrellmann, Georges Lauga, Louis Brunet, Tomy Fallot—

who died in 1904—and others identified with social movements on the Continent have exercised a high quality of leadership in this field.

The extremes to which birth control has gone in France has so depleted the population that it has been necessary to bring in large numbers of Slavs from Central and Eastern Europe, which presents a special home mission problem. Social effort received a stimulus following the Congress of Social Christianity in Besançon in 1908 and later in Saint-Quentin, where the new religious social movement in France was organized. The Young Men's Christian Association, so well known in France through the *Foyers du Soldats* and its work in the various Allied armies, is spreading in France and bids fair to be an indigenous liberal evangelistic and social movement.

These movements have found literary expression in two periodicals—*Foi et Vie,* directed by Paul Doumergue, which is endeavoring to create a center of Christian culture by means of literature and lectures, and *Christianisme Social,* edited by Elie Gounelle, which is the organ of the young religious social group which is less interested in special social activities than in Christianizing the whole social order.

La Société Centrale Evangélique was founded in 1847 and merged in 1910 with the *Société Evangélique de France.* Its aim is to care for scattered Protestants, to form them into groups and to evangelize France. They have also done a large work in the devastated areas and among the numerous immigrants from Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, and Hungary who have sought employment in France. In all France has over 2,845,000 foreign immigrants on her soil. Its 228 stations are placed throughout the country, from which 124 churches have been organized. This society is the center of evangelistic work in the churches and is at the same time carrying forward missionary work in the colonies. Boissons, Benignus, and Barde have been leaders in these efforts.

La Cause, a remarkable movement which was born of the deepened sense of spiritual need following the war, is an offspring of the *Société Centrale Evangélique* and *La Mission Populaire Evangélique.* It is dedicated to the concentrating

Protestant forces, preparing them by methodical training for Christian service, and sending them out on missionary tasks at home and abroad, accomplishing its aims by a series of publications, training in social service, and evangelization. *La Cause* joins with the other two societies in the publication of *L'Action Missionnaire en France,* a review of current Christian effort, and has to its credit a long list of first-rate publications on religious subjects and methods of work. *Groupes des correspondants* have been extensively organized and serve as training centers in both content and method. Under the leadership of F. Dürrellmann, Georges Lauga, and Louis Brunet, hundreds of laymen are being recruited and trained for practical Christian service. The work of this organization has become one of the finest fruits of French Protestantism.

The McAll Mission, *La Mission Populaire Evangélique,* was founded in 1873 and has 31 stations with 25 agents, with special boats arranged for preaching services employed on waterways, maintaining in addition a large colportage work, solidarities, fraternities, and foyers. Its aim is not to "found churches, but to feed them." *La Mission Populaire* is largely supported by foreign contributions. It has been a pioneer in social and religious work among underprivileged people, thereby serving as a training school and inspiration to the laymen of other Protestant groups.

The home mission societies of the Reformed and the Lutheran churches, as well as of the Baptist and Methodist churches, are now doing work similar to that of the McAll Mission.

There are numerous other associations for social work, including *La Fédération Française de Fraternité, La Fédération du Christianisme social,* and numerous regional associations.

Different Bible societies, both French and English, are distributing Bibles by means of *colporteurs* throughout the country, the Protestant Bible Society having been in the field since 1818.

Five theological faculties, possessing many distinguished professors, are one of the outstanding contributions of Protestants to French religious life. They include: *La Faculté Libre*

de Paris, Reformed and Lutheran, supported by a free association; *La Faculté Libre de Montpellier,* which depends upon the *Union Nationale* of the Evangelical Reformed churches; the University Faculty in Strasbourg, part of the state university; the Divinity School of the Evangelical Methodist Church in Paris; and the Baptist Theological School in Paris.

The foreign mission interest is focused in the Paris Missionary Society, which was founded in 1822 and now has seven fields, including South Africa, Madagascar, and French colonial possessions. Nearly all French churches collaborate in this work, and the society has many friends in Switzerland and other countries.

A commission was formed at the invitation of Wilfred Monod to "take measures for removing the barriers between the churches," which led in 1905 to a Federation of the Protestant Churches, completed in 1907 and to-day the central organ of French Protestantism. It held its first General Assembly in Nîmes in 1909, where the constitution was adopted. Later, in 1914, at Lyon, the religious and moral unity of French Protestantism was completed. It includes the National Union of the Evangelical Reformed Churches and of the Reformed churches, the Evangelical Lutheran churches, the Evangelical Free churches, the Evangelical Methodist churches, the Federation of the Evangelical Baptist Churches, and the Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Alsace and Lorraine, as well as the *Société Centrale Evangélique.* Besides the general *Fédération* there are also provincial federations.

A large proportion of the population of France is preoccupied with the serious problems of economic life. Indifference and a broad Voltairism have gained ground in many quarters. More than 80 parishes have no pastor. The irony of Anatole France, Marcel Proust, and others represents the attitude of a sizable proportion of the French population.

But there is another side to the French mind, wistful and searching for spiritual values. In Catholicism this new interest in spiritual matters is evidenced by the vogue of Thomas Aquinas, which is opposed to the intuitionism of Bergson. A new desire for authority in the spiritual life is a marked char-

acteristic of this country of revolutions. An effort has been made to combat the intellectualism of *Néothomisme* in Protestant quarters and to restate the evangelistic faith, in order to emerge from the doctrinal anarchy of recent decades. To this end a society, *Les Amis de la Pensée protestante,* has been formed. Protestants are often accused of allowing too great freedom of research, of exaggerated individualism, and Maritain and Gilson have condemned it as contrary to the French spirit. But a truer insight would reveal that both Protestants and Catholics possess elements which breathe the highest aspirations of the heart of France. It is in a complementary ministry that each will realize its most ample and effective ministry to the French people.

Belgium

More than any section which suffered the demolition of combat, Belgium has recovered from the ravages of war. Her losses included 78,000 destroyed buildings and thousands of factories either badly damaged or despoiled of their machinery. Her livestock was depleted and many of the best animals carried away. Many square miles of her best land was either destroyed or so pitted with shell holes that years of drudgery have been expended to restore it to farming condition. More serious has been the loss in life, with 40,000 battle dead, 36,000 disabled, 160,000 deported workmen of whom 23,700 died while in exile, a general mortality increased by undernourishment, and a greatly reduced birth rate due to conditions of financial stringency.

Notwithstanding the grave handicaps under which Belgium entered the post-war era, she has progressed remarkably, not only in material reconstruction but also in those voluntary social and religious activities which are the finest fruit of responsible citizenship. Movements for alleviating the condition of the poor, schools for nurses, visiting nurse associations caring for homes and schools, have multiplied. A thoroughgoing campaign worthy of emulation in every nation has been undertaken under the auspices of Her Majesty the Queen and

Dr. Bordet, with the support of all religious and political groups, for the elimination of venereal disease. The passage and occupation of so many armies upon Belgian soil left there the same grewsome tale with which armies have always marked their presence.

Progress has also been made in the campaign against alcoholism. From 1914 to 1923 the number of cabarets fell from 250,000 to 141,000. The average consumption of alcohol per capita has been reduced from 10.82 litres in 1895 and 9 litres in 1900 to 1.84 litres in 1922. Nevertheless, there is still much to be done in this domain, especially in the fight against the wine invasion, the only bad consequence of the French alliance.

The Flemish nationalist movement is proving a dangerous element in Belgian politics. The agitation is based upon a racial and linguistic ideal so familiar in the numerous minority problems across Europe. The question has divided the Clerical, Liberal, and Socialist parties and called down upon it severe strictures from the late Cardinal Mercier, who gave his priests strict instructions to desist from Flemish agitation. The activity of Flemish priests had caused much justified criticism upon the part of anti-clericals.

Protestants have a more favorable outlook in Belgium than at any time since the Reformation. Contact with men in other armies, or as internes, invalids or refugees in Holland, England, and Switzerland widened the horizon of many Belgians. In addition, the Catholic Church is no longer in the position of undisputed power which it had held for nearly a half-century. In the last elections the voting ran Catholics 843,929, Liberals 351,283, Socialists 763,620, and Communists 29,369. Such a condition makes it impossible for any party to pursue an intransigeant policy. The government for some time has been a coalition of Socialists and Catholics.

The Protestant Church has had a stormy history in Belgium. The Duke of Alva all but destroyed it. By the beginning of the nineteenth century only seven congregations remained out of the 600 which flourished toward the end of the sixteenth. These united in 1807 to form the Union of Reformed Churches

in Belgium, which now numbers 24 congregations with over 7,000 members. In 1837 a group of Christian people desirous of greater emphasis upon evangelism formed the Missionary Christian Church of Belgium. The creed of this church is the conservative *Confessio Belgica* of the sixteenth century, but their liberality of mind and heart is evidenced by a large home mission work of high quality. It has nearly the same membership as the Reformed Church but has more congregations. The two work together in a joint foreign mission enterprise.

The Belgian Gospel Mission, which had its beginnings in service to the Belgian Army chiefly through distribution of the Scriptures, has developed since the war. It is conservative theologically and has had an amazing growth, now operating in thirty posts with a central Bible Training School and including workers of seven different nationalities, an example of the power of sympathetic religious contact among the common people.

As the government in its eagerness to respect liberty of conscience does not take a religious census, it is impossible to give exact figures although the great majority are Catholic. There is no state religion, but the state grants certain subsidies on like conditions to Protestants, Jews, and Catholics. Before the war, roughly twenty-five per cent of the people were practicing Catholics. Due to a renewal of interest in religious matters, this number has increased in recent years. A deeper spiritual note is evident in both Catholic and Protestant circles. Much harm to the cause of religion in general has been done by the indiscriminate anti-clericalism which condemned religion along with a political platform.

Catholic youth is seeking to emancipate its religion from the grip of a narrow and intolerant clericalism. Although there is still much ignorance of Protestant tenets and of Biblical writings, even on the part of the intellectuals, nevertheless a new spirit is revealed in a recent manifesto of Catholic youth: "We cannot, we Catholic students, but agree with students of other parties upon certain particular points which touch interests which are common to us, interests professional, intellectual,

and moral. We must adopt in our relations that tone of mutual respect which it is absolutely necessary to introduce into our political discussion. . . . The first problem which must engage us is the religious problem. . . . What the new youth desires is a living faith which shall inform all its acts, which shall be its supreme reason for action. . . . We are political or social Catholics and not sufficiently religious Catholics."

Liberal and Socialist youth have also held assemblies which gave evidence of a profound change in point of view toward the perplexities of the present social order. Youth here, as in many European countries, manifests more intellectual curiosity than its elders. The war verified the stupidity of many prejudices and dissipated many misunderstandings.

Belgian Protestantism is seeking to respond to these moral, social, and religious aspirations. It is still numerically weak in consequence of the persecutions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, counting at present some 50,000 adherents. Its progress is constant though slow. Like Catholicism, it has profited by the revival of religious feeling and is making progress for the first time among the intellectuals, many of whom learned to appreciate Protestantism during the war. On the first of July, 1923, a great demonstration commemorated the memory of the first martyrs of the Reformation, the two Lutheran Augustinian monks burned on the great square of Brussels on the first of July, 1523. For the first time the Catholic press abstained from slandering and insulting the Protestants, its prudent silence contrasting with the very sympathetic tone of the Liberal and Socialist papers, which gave the measure of the growth of Protestant prestige in the country.

In temperance and all other social and religious movements Protestants here, as in France, have always carried forward a disproportionate part of the labor. The working classes, and notably those in the coal district of Mons (Borinage), have come strongly under Protestant influence, even outside the restricted circle of the churches.

The presence of Paul Hymans and other Belgians high in

the ranks of politics, letters, and science within the ranks of the Protestant Church is evidence of the quality of its membership.

Spain

The Reformation sent many of its disciples to Spain where they met the Inquisition and the hostility of powerful political and social forces.

In 1855 the Protestant cause was brought before public notice when Francesco de Paula Ruet, a convert to the Protestant faith, was condemned to death by the bishops and banished from Spain. Matamoros continued the works of Ruet, but was imprisoned. In 1876 religious toleration, but not religious liberty, was granted. Spain is the only European country which does not enjoy religious liberty. Small congregations were gathered throughout the country and in 1870 a Spanish Synod was convened by Cabrera. Later the Swedish Baptists, the Wesleyans in Barcelona and in the Barbados, and the Plymouth Brethren in the North came in and began their efforts.

The ten thousand Protestants are divided between the *Iglesia Evangelica Española* with 36 parishes and stations supported by friends in Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, France, and America; the *Iglesia Española Reformata* founded by Cabrera, who conceived a national Spanish Church, supported by an Anglican group and directed by an Irish bishop, with eleven parishes and four stations; the *Iglesia Methodista des Ceyana* with 370 communicants; all three churches being federated in 1923 in the Spanish Church Federation.

In addition there is the *Union Bautista Española* under the direction of the Southern Baptist Church of the United States with 40 stations and 900 members, and the Hermanists, a branch of the Derbysts, an English sect with 43 stations.

Until the year 1876 Roman Catholicism was the only church allowed in the Kingdom of Spain. The constitution of that year contained a provision allowing Protestants freedom of

worship but at the same time declaring that the worship and the clergy of the Roman Church was to be maintained by the state. Spain is overwhelmingly Catholic; in fact, before the suppression of the monasteries in 1836 one-fifth of the whole nation was in the service of the church. When a measure of religious liberty was granted in 1868 various groups sought to bring the Protestant conception of Christianity to Spain. Pastor Fliedner from Germany began evangelization and school work in Madrid in 1870, the Irish Presbyterians opened a seminary, Anglican and Swiss groups started missions, followed by Methodists, Congregationalists, and various units from Scotland, Holland, and Sweden.

The work of Pastor Fliedner was continued by his three sons. Fliedner developed a small Protestant literature in Spain and published many text books. His work was maintained by friends in Germany who were unable to carry forward the work in the period of inflation and it remains to-day in a precarious condition.

Forty years ago the Presbyterian Church of Ireland established a Missionary Training School in Madrid which has done a valuable work in training leaders.

Before the war French Protestants established a mission in High-Aragon, which has made headway since 1919. The inflation of the French franc has recently created havoc with their plans. Another difficulty common to all religious efforts in Spain is the fact that seventy per cent of the people are illiterate.

The Reformed or Presbyterian Church in Spain had its beginnings in the Spanish Evangelical Society formed in Scotland in 1852. Its main purpose was the distribution of the Scriptures in this land of illiteracy. During the outbreak of intolerance in 1860 many Protestants sought refuge at Gibraltar and there adopted the Westminster Confession and a constitution, Presbyterian in form. The Revolution of 1868 allowed their return. In 1886 Protestants united in forming the *Iglesia Evangelica Española,* which now has 32 congregations, 1,000 members and three presbyteries. The Irish Presbyterian Church and the United Free Church of Scotland have

consistently succored this struggling group. The 10,000 Protestants of Spain, although now free to worship as they choose, nevertheless suffer from all the social and ecclesiastical disabilities of being a tiny minority in the midst of one of the most illiterate and in some respects intolerant populations in Europe.

The establishment of an interdenominational theological seminary is now in progress. The Protestant college, *El Porvenir,* at Madrid, founded by Fliedner, was recently saved from being sold by its mortgagees through a generous gift from the United States. It has a distinguished record, having trained over 300 leaders in Spanish life in the last three decades. This college, together with the Teachers' Training School and the proposed seminary, is of vital importance to the spiritual life of Spain.

A step of major importance was taken recently when all those Protestant bodies working in Spain united in forming the International Spanish Evangelization Committee with its base in Holland. The Committee is composed of representatives from Boards in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, and America, including Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Anglican, Lutheran, and Methodist churches.

Luis Arce Lacaze, in an article entitled "Réflexions sur la décadence de l'Espagne" in *L'Etoile du Matin,* the journal of the French Protestant Mission in High-Aragon, remarked apropos of Spain's obscurantism on religious matters:

> Why does not Spain rank with the first nations of Europe, which in her day she was able to surpass? All Spaniards ask themselves this question; among all the answers which have been made to this question, I hold one which, in my opinion, summarizes them all, and I maintain that the primordial cause, the propagator of all other apparent causes of Spain's decadence is a political reason. It is the desire to make of Spain the champion of this impossible feat, namely, the suffocation of the movement of the Reformation.
>
> If Spain had been willing to be a champion of the

> Reformation, as were Germany and England, she would to-day be the first nation of Europe. It is this which launched her in a line of politics so pregnant with errors, misjudgments, shameful and violent deeds, crimes even, for which the Inquisition was not responsible.
>
> In the persecution let loose on the Reformation, and then by the logical power of mistakes against the Jews and Mohammedans, is to be found for the perceptive eye the one cause of Spain's decadence, which dates from the day on which she wished to stop the Reformation and oppose herself to the onward march of centuries. . . .
>
> The causes of Spain's decadence, therefore, although usually given first rank, are nevertheless the secondary ones. There is one from which they all arise. To recognize it and make it known is to point the way to a Spanish rebirth.

Groups working in Spain include certain German units with six pastors and twenty teachers; the French in High-Aragon; the British supporting the Spanish and Portuguese Aid Society helping the *Iglesia Española Reformata,* and publishing the periodical, *Light and Truth;* the United Free Church of Scotland; the Continental Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland working in the south and at Madrid, and maintaining a Training College in that city; the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Religious Tract Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Dutch partly supported the German work and the Americans the work of the Congregationalists and Methodists. The Swiss have had since 1865 a special committee in Lausanne in support of Pastor Fliedner's work.

A unified and intelligent approach of Protestants to the intellectual and spiritual needs of the Spanish people is proving a benefit to the entire nation. It is not only pioneering in religion and social work, but is coöperating in all measures for wiping out the widespread illiteracy which has for so many centuries characterized the Spanish peninsula.

Portugal

Roman Catholicism was the state religion of Portugal until 1910, although monasteries were suppressed in 1834 and their property confiscated. Other creeds are tolerated and a small Protestant movement is growing.

Portugal represents a curious mosaic of some five million and a half peoples with Berber, Arab, Jew, Negro, and other types superimposed on ancient Iberian stocks.

In recent years revolutions have prevented any peaceable adjustment of internal troubles or allowed the country time to recuperate from war losses consequent upon the equipment and maintenance of a Portuguese division of artillery which was brigaded with Allied troops on the Western front. In all over 40,000 troops were dispatched to France and Africa. In addition the political and social life has been rent by recurrent outbreaks of anti-clericalism.

Several Protestant denominations have investigated the possibilities of work in this country where great good could be done in the field of education and practical philanthropy. The country stands in need of Sunday schools and other adequate means of religious education. The Catholic Church has been careless in this regard, due to an almost complete monopoly.

Since 1922 a decided reaction in favor of the Catholic Church has been noticeable, due to a serious effort on its part to meet the spiritual needs of the people.

Protestants are represented by the British and Foreign Bible Society which has been carrying on effective work in Portugal for a period of forty years, and by various other small groups including a body of 1,000 Lutherans. In all, the Protestant forces number some 5,000 scattered throughout the nation.

Italy

Protestantism in Italy, as in France, wields an influence in the intellectual and spiritual life of the people entirely disproportionate to the numbers of its membership.

The Waldensians of Italy constituted the earliest Protestant

movement. This small, compact group antedates the Reformation itself. The name Waldensian comes from Peter Waldo of Lyon, who emigrated from his native city to Northern Italy. There he met with the Poor of Lombardi, and was deeply impressed with their ideal of life and faith. These people preached the gospel in the vernacular and took upon themselves the discipline of poverty and chastity. At that time these ideals were in striking contrast with the worldly claims of the Catholic Church, which did not hesitate to direct armed crusades against the rebels,—a warfare which was repeated through the centuries.

The Italian Protestant group realized the kinship of their ideals with the evangelical faith of reformers in the Rhineland, in Switzerland, and in France, and did not hesitate to join formally with the Reformation in 1532, an act which drew repeated persecutions upon them. Cromwell threatened to interfere at this time and sent a message to the Protestant powers of Europe urging them to use their influence to stay the persecutions. Milton wrote his famous sonnet of protest,—

> Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.

The first legal public worship which was held by the Waldensians was on the seventeenth of February, 1848, in Turin, when Charles Albert, King of Piedmont, at the instigation of Cavour, issued the celebrated Edict of Emancipation, granting civil rights to all within his kingdom. The Waldensians were quick to seize this new freedom, and their work spread rapidly. At the present time, committees are found in every city of any size in the Kingdom of Italy and over one hundred Protestant churches are scattered throughout the peninsula and in Sicily. This body numbers a little over 40,000 souls, about half of the entire Protestant population of Italy. By their industry and social work, and by the fact that they contain within their number the smallest percentage of illiterates of any religious group, they have gained the respect and esteem of all educated groups in Italy. The late Edmondo De Amicis,

one of Italy's most illustrious literary men, author of *La Porte d'Italia,* wrote of the Waldensians:

> They never numbered more than twenty thousand people, scattered in fifteen parishes; yet they had the history and the strength of a great people. They mustered armies with their own generals, they had their heroes and their martyrs. They discussed terms, as equals, with nations a hundred times larger than they were; they endured the hardships of thirty religious wars, instigated by the Pope, against Piedmont, against France, and against the two combined; for almost a year they kept the powerful Louis XIV at bay. . . . Like the people of Israel, they were driven from their own land; like the Spaniards, they reconquered their country. Scattered, butchered, almost wholly destroyed, like a race with the pestilence of which the earth should be purged, they reorganized again, more numerous than ever and more grimly persevering in their religious views.

The Waldensian Church is organized on the Presbyterian system, the lay members sharing the responsibility of administration with a representation equal in number to the ministers. Its highest legislative and administrative body is the Synod, generally known as the Tavola, Table, which is the supreme directing committee of the entire Waldensian work. This ancient Protestant group numbers 22,000 members, 96 parishes, 6,000 Sunday school pupils, three hospitals, and a college.

Recognizing the need of a trained leadership, the Waldensian Church organized an excellent Faculty of Theology which was founded in 1855 at Torre Pellice, a Faculty which was later removed to Rome. This Protestant Seminary in the heart of Italy is of the utmost importance to the whole future religious life of that kingdom. An intelligent and far-reaching evangelical work is being carried on throughout the kingdom and is being extended to Italian colonies and among Italian people in the United States.

There are also other Protestant groups in Italy of foreign origin, including the Moravian Church founded in 1861, the Wesleyan Methodist Church founded somewhat later, the

SHOWING THE EXPANSION OF THE WALDENSIAN CHURCH FROM VALLEYS WHEREIN ORIGINATED

Presbyterian Church which began work in 1870, and since 1873 the Methodist Episcopal Church. All these denominations have their educational institutions and various social works, carrying on a persistent missionary effort. One of the main features of this work is the distribution of the Bible through the *colporteur* service, in which the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Bible Society of Scotland are

cordially coöperating. The Methodists have 61 churches, with a membership of 3,453, 47 ministers and an institution of higher learning, the Collegio Internationale Monte Mario, located in Rome. Their vigorous evangelistic work has more than once caused alarm in Vatican circles. Baptists have a growing work in the peninsula, embracing 50 parishes, with 50 ministers and 2,500 members. The Lutherans also have a congregation in Venice and a second at Trieste.

One of the grave causes of misunderstanding between Mussolini and the German and Austrian governments is the treatment of both Protestant and Catholic German-Austrians in the Southern Tyrol. A clearly drawn frontier could have been established without violating the national integrity of German-Austria, since the Salurner Klause has for 1,400 years been the southern border of German South Tyrol. Within this line was an almost solid German-speaking population of 230,000. Italy, by the Secret Treaty of London of 1915, arranged by Lord Grey, Asquith, and the Italian War Cabinet, was to receive the South Tyrol as compensation for Italy's rupture of the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria. It appears that President Wilson in Paris, under pressure from European statesmen, promised Orlando that the Brenner Pass should be the frontier between Italy and Austria, thus including within the confines of Italy 230,000 German Tyrolese.

The Italian government has become more restrictive in recent months toward all Protestant groups especially those of foreign origin. The periodical of the Waldensians, *La Luce,* has been suppressed intermittently.

Since November, 1918, the South Tyrol has undergone three definite types of administration. The first period was one of military occupation, which persisted from the date of the Armistice to the date of the ratification of the Treaty of Peace. The second period lasted from June, 1919, until the end of 1922, when Fascismo reached the ascendancy. The third period began in the early days of 1923, when the Fascisti began an organized reign of terror for all residents in the South Tyrol. During the first period, many promising speeches were made by the king and the various cabinet min-

isters. With the coming of the Fascist government into power, the Austrian Tyrolese in Italy began to feel what *Fremdherrschaft* is like. These Tyrolese have neither the backing of a strong protecting country, such as Alsace-Lorraine had during the days of German occupation, nor have they the League of Nations behind them, inasmuch as Italy has never signed a treaty dealing with minorities. Italian journalists justify the ill treatment of the Tyrolese on the basis that Austria is liable to unite with Germany, forming a solid *bloc* of sixty-six million Teutons, which would impinge on Italy's northern marches and thus make it necessary strategically for Italy to occupy the territory up to the formidable Brenner Pass.

Italian policy has been directed especially against the German Tyrolese schools and language. A royal decree abolished the school system formerly prevailing and made the Italian tongue obligatory in the four hundred schools in South Tyrol. German, even as a secondary language, is forbidden. The eight-year compulsory school system established by the Austrian government in 1850—by means of which illiteracy was practically wiped out of the Tyrol—has been abolished in favor of the Italian four-year voluntary system, by means of which Italy has not been able to make more than sixty per cent of her people literate. Little children in kindergarten are forbidden to use the language of their homes and do not understand the language of their new Italian teachers. German instructors have been discharged and many hundreds of children are thus growing up in almost complete ignorance. Even the employment of private governesses or tutors is forbidden, and thus thousands of children understand neither German nor Italian in any proficient way.

Petitions and protestations by this oppressed group, even one directed to the Secretariat of the League of Nations and signed by fifty thousand Tyrolese, have universally met with no response. The Fascist government, in its administration and in the courts, allows only the Italian tongue. This automatically excludes the Tyrolese from jury duty, from practicing law, and from governmental posts. The few Tyrolese officials who were not discharged and who spoke Italian are

being transferred south into the Italian state. German burgomasters and clergymen are being replaced with Italian commissioners and priests.

In this group of 230,000 Southern Tyrolese, who have been German since the Bajuvarii settled the country in the sixth century, both Catholics and Protestants are suffering severely.

The Protestant Church in Italy has a service to perform for the entire Italian people. Free speech, free press, free worship, spiritual independence, and the open Bible are values which Italy and Christendom can ill afford to lose in these days of reaction and dictatorships.

Chapter VI

THE OLD HAPSBURG TERRITORIES

Czecho-Slovakia

"The Czech problem is a religious problem," said an obscure professor, who later became the first President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Czech political and religious history are inextricably entwined. The Czech problem has always been a religious problem. Two distinct periods may be noted with special reference to religious movements,—the Reformation epoch leading up to the great national humiliation at the Battle of Bílá Hora in 1620, and the epoch of the Counter-Reformation which followed.

The Reformation in Bohemia began as a disaffection with the current immorality among the clergy. Originally there was no movement against the Roman Church as such. Dissatisfaction led inevitably to fuller demands for an ethical priesthood, reforms in the arbitrary and worldly government and conduct of the Church, a demand for a free and open Bible in the vernacular, and liberty of conscience.

The earliest beginnings of the Reformation in Bohemia can be traced to the twelfth century. That remarkable and most ancient Protestant sect, the Waldensians, began to make their influence felt in Central Europe at that time, an influence which has persisted, especially among the Taborites. Waldensian teaching probably influenced Peter Chelčichý, a contemporary of Jan Hus, the spiritual founder of the *Unitas Fratrum,* or Unity of Bohemian Brethren.

Before Jan Hus came on the scene to profoundly change the history of this section of mid-Europe, Konrad Waldhauser, Jan Milíč of Kroměříž, and Matthew of Genoa struck out boldly for a more spiritual church. By the close of the fourteenth century Bohemia was the one European country

where criticism of the abuses and immorality of the Church had broken into open rebellion.

Came the year 1415, and Jan Hus was burned at the stake by the Council of Constance. Bohemia arose in a flame of revolt primarily directed against King Zikmund, the instrument of Rome who cravenly deserted Jan Hus at Constance. Two parties developed at once: an aristocratic group, chiefly in Prague, known as Utraquists because of their practice of taking communion in bread and wine; and a radical democratic group known as the Taborites, so called from their fortress. Under the blind Taborite General Žižka, the Hussites went forward in a series of military victories. But the Reformation in Bohemia met its first serious setback when the Utraquist nobles and the democratic Taborites entered into a quarrel, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the Taborite forces at the disastrous fratricidal Battle of Lipany in 1434. Here again economic theory and politics vindicated Masaryk's statement that "The Czech problem is a religious problem."

Periods of greater liberty alternated with periods of severe repression of Protestantism throughout the fifteenth century. The Unity of Bohemian Brethren, the most democratic Protestant group of the day, was suppressed in 1547, and Ferdinand V by a royal decree established the Jesuit Order throughout the land.

In 1618 came the insurrection begun by Bohemian patriots, who threw the vicegerents of King Matthew out of a high window in the royal palace in Prague, an act which proved to be the signal for the Thirty Years' War. Protestant forces looked for help from Germany which was not forthcoming and went down to utter disaster at the Battle of Bílá Hora in 1620. From this date, the Battle of the White Mountain, dates the Roman Catholic Reformation in Bohemia.

Bílá Hora is the name that looms large in Czech song and story. It spelled the end of Czech independence and was one of the greatest national religious humiliations ever witnessed in mid-Europe. Two victors emerged, the Hapsburgs and the Catholic Church. Twenty-seven Czech nobles were executed, some of them being tortured before death. Two-thirds of the

Czech landowners were completely dispossessed of their estates. Imperial courtiers, Germans, Spaniards, Walloons, Italians—and after the defeat of Wallenstein, even some Irish and Scotch—were given lands formerly belonging to the Bohemian nobility. Thousands of the Protestant population who refused to apostasize were driven into exile and others held secret meetings in remote places. Many emigrated to Prussia, Saxony, and Poland. The Moravian center at Herrnhut in Prussia was founded by emigrants from Moravia. An unexampled régime of systematic plunder and oppression set in. From 1620 until 1671 Bohemian books were burned by the thousand. A Jesuit fanatic named Konias is reputed to have thus disposed of 60,000 volumes. The population of Bohemia was roughly 3,000,000 at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, and at the close it was scarcely 800,000.

With the advent of Joseph II there came a period of enlightened despotism. In 1781 he issued the *Toleranz Patent,* which granted religious freedom with some reservations to certain non-Catholic groups, the Lutherans and Calvinists, that is, the Augsburg and Helvetic Confession churches. All other sects, including the Bohemian Brethren, were excluded. After the events of 1918 both confessions returned to the old confession of the Bohemian Brethren.

After the Congress of Vienna, in spite of the severity of Hapsburg oppression, a Bohemian literary revival sprang up led by such men as Dobrovský, Palacký, Kollár, and Šafařík. By 1847 there were new nationalist stirrings in the Bohemian Diet. A new liberal force now came on the scene in Charles Havlíček's journal, the *Pražské Noviny,* which ingeniously attacked conditions in Russia and Ireland as a guise for sending barbed shafts into the powers at Vienna.

In 1848 there occurred the revolutionary movements which were put down under the iron heel of the Hapsburg military. By 1850 the reactionary forces were so powerful that Baron Bach proclaimed the German tongue the State language and Bohemia was again forced to eat bitter bread.

Francis Joseph, who came into power in 1848, at first granted constitutional rights to the Czech people, but in fact carried on an undisguised absolutism until the year 1860. In

the *Concordat* of 1855 between Francis Joseph and Pius IX, it was stated that the state should preserve the Roman Catholic religion, "with all its rights and prerogatives, according to God's order and the Church's laws." The Church was supreme in all matters relating to marriage and divorce, only Catholic teachers could be appointed to gymnasia or middle schools, and bishops were granted full right of censorship over publications.

The growing Czech nationalism, inextricably mixed with religious convictions, carefully fostered by Havlíček, Palacký, Tomek, Trojan, Rieger, Šafařík, and others, was aided by the Sokol movement which made cultural nuclei of gymnastic groups.

Although various liberal provisions were passed at Vienna, such statutes were never made effective. The superintendence of schools was left to priests, freedom of conscience really ceased to exist, teachers and professors were persecuted, and attendance of state officials and students at religious services and observance of religious rites were enforced by penalties. Such were the conditions which had caused Masaryk to say: "The Czech problem is a religious problem."

Masaryk, although born a Roman Catholic, was born in an era when almost all the educated classes in Slovakia and Bohemia professed an indifferent liberalism. Religion, as such, bore too much the stamp of Rome protected by a Hapsburg gendarme. He did not hesitate to profess Christianity in its Protestant form, but remained a critical Protestant, holding to the spirit but deploring fruitless and unnecessary quarrels. He took part in the Congress of Free Christianity held in Berlin. He has ever been opposed to religious indifference and has emphasized the moral force of Christianity. His position on religion as a patriot author and later as President of the Republic has done more to focus the attention of the educated groups on religious matters than has any other one person.

The restoration of independence in 1918 was the beginning of a new era in the religious life of this region. In that part of the Czecho-Slovakian Constitution relating to the protection of national, religious and racial minorities, paragraph 132 provides as follows:

Where, in towns and districts in which is domiciled a considerable proportion of Czecho-Slovakian citizens that belong to a religious, national, and lingual minority, fixed amounts were allotted, in state, municipal or other public estimates to be paid out of public funds, for educational, religious or charitable purposes, a proper share in their enjoyment and use is, subject to the general instructions applicable to public administration, guaranteed to such minorities.

Statistics on religious bodies in 1921 present an interesting picture of the ecclesiastical fabric of a central European state:

	Bohemia	*Moravia*	*Silesia*	*Slovakia*	*Ru-thenia*	*Total in Czecho-S. Republic*
Roman Catholics	5,216,180	2,421,220	564,064	2,128,205	55,164	10,384,833
Greek Catholics	6,771	1,772	721	193,735	332,451	535,450
Armen. Catholics	32	5	6	43	7	93
Catholics together	5,222,983	2,422,997	564,791	2,321,983	387,622	10,920,376
The Ev. Church of Czech Brethren	147,799	72,612	10,788	2,372	297	233,868
Augsburg Confession	85,248	12,112	53,327	382,428	2,267	535,382
Reformed Confession	2,282	340	458	144,549	60,277	207,906
The Unity of Brethren	3,634	206	23	58	12	3,933
Congregationalists	4,534	458	44	61	2	5,099
Baptists	715	279	16	1,011	86	2,107
Methodists	1,445	9	..	..	1	1,455
Anglicans	189	37	8	26	..	260
Others	268	16	5	7	13	309
All Protestant Churches together	246,114	86,069	64,669	530,512	62,955	990,319
Czecho-Slovak Church	437,377	61,786	24,069	1,910	191	525,333
Greek Orthodox	7,165	1,675	242	2,877	60,986	72,945
Armen. Orthodox	127	12	...	2	11	152
All Orthodox together	7,292	1,687	242	2,879	60,997	73,097
Old Catholics	16,329	2,799	975	145	7	20,255
Jews	79,777	37,989	7,317	135,918	93,341	354,342
Others	1,344	315	734	210	221	2,824
Unknown	1,282	216	66	495	60	2,119
Undenominational (Freethinkers)	658,084	49,026	9,405	6,818	1,174	724,507
Population	6,670,582	2,662,884	672,268	3,000,870	606,568	13,613,172

To-day the population of Bohemia numbers not more than from 65 to 70 per cent Catholics. In Prague and Pilzen and in industrial centers the number would probably be less than 50 per cent. Among the German and Magyar population little change can be noticed. About 30 per cent of the Czech people have shifted their church adherence, nearly 100,000 have united with various Protestant groups, about 900,000 have joined the Czecho-Slovak Church, which is a new national Catholic Church retaining much of the new Catholic cultus, but having severed its relation with Rome. Those who have remained within the Catholic communion are more conscious of their loyalty than ever before, but in spite of religious emphasis since the war there has been no increase in the numbers voting for the Clerical party over the number in 1911. Conversion from the Catholic to the Protestant churches are reported to have been 2,331 in 1919; 5,874 in 1920; 43,732 in 1921; 9,782 in 1922; 7,748 in 1923; 4,719 in 1924 and 6,725 in 1925.

The five principle Protestant groups in Czecho-Slovakia are: the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Slovakia, the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Magyar Reformed Church, and smaller bodies composed of Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, and Moravians.

The Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren has made remarkable strides since the war, being a number of those churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian system. This church has enlisted the sympathetic support of the Presbyterian churches in Great Britain and America, many helpers being sent over to assist in the organization of numerous new parishes due to accessions. A notable advance in Protestant social service and relief work occurred when, largely through the efforts of the Reverend Francis Horniček, the Government Land Office sold this body a lordly domain of 600 acres on which is situated a castle capable of housing 500 people and numerous other buildings in which hospitals, orphanages, and summer camps will be accommodated. No other center in the Danube countries can compare with this magnificent estate

so providentially equipped to meet the needs of the growing Church of the Czech Brethren.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Augsburg Confession in Slovakia, embracing over 400,000 members, is one of the largest and potentially one of the most important groups of Protestants in the very heart of Central Europe. They are almost entirely a rural population, with a strong religious feeling and a sturdy character.

Along the north and west frontiers of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, is a broad fringe of nearly 3,500,000 Germans, over one-half million of whom belong to the Lutheran Church.

The German Evangelical Church in Bohemia, Mähren, and Silesia was founded in 1920, and is comprised of 110,000 Lutherans in 88 parishes, with 109 stations, 10 schools, and 99 pastors.

The Magyar Reformed Church in Slovakia and Ruthenia has 288 parishes and 90 stations, with 207,000 members of whom 10,000 are of Slovak origin. Its polity is Presbyterian, with 3 dioceses under bishops and 10 seniorates. In 1823 they convened their Synod and formed an autonomous church, but the government closed their seminary for fear of Magyarophil tendencies. As a more cordial feeling develops between the Czecho-Slovak state and its Hungarian subjects the church may expect steady advances.

The smaller Protestant groups include some 5,000 Congregationalists, 2,000 Baptists, 1,400 Methodists, a scattering of Anglicans, and a few other small congregations. Most of these parishes had their origin in the missionary activity of Western churches from America. A fine relief work has been done by each of these forces and much encouragement given the struggling Protestant groups in the difficult post-war period. It is to be hoped, however, that the multiple divisions of denominationalism will not be duplicated on the Continent.

The Czecho-Slovak National Reformed Catholic Church was organized immediately after the declaration of independence, by patriotic Catholics who wished to keep deep-rooted Catholic tradition but to separate their church from Rome and the odious memories of past oppression. The

slogan was abroad, "When Vienna falls, Rome must fall too!" The service was put into the vernacular instead of Latin, and the celibacy of the clergy was abolished. The founders of this church petitioned Rome for a reversion of the verdict which burned Hus, declaring that they would never submit to the authority of the Roman Church until this crime was aknowledged and condemned. This the Vatican refused to do, and priest after priest led his flock into the new communion. Negotiations were carried on with the Serbian Orthodox Church in order to have bishops ordained who would be in the apostolic succession. One bishop was ordained, Rev. Gorazd Pavlik of Olomouc, but the conversations finally broke down as the two parties were unable to agree regarding creed.

Thousands have severed all connections with any church and have joined the ranks of the freethinkers, including atheists and honest inquirers, materialists and idealists, enthusiasts for ethical culture and zealots against all religions.

Political parties are now working for the separation of church and state. Whatever transpires will be of importance not only to Czecho-Slovakia but to the entire religious life of mid-Europe.

In Czecho-Slovakia the government has not been as severe as in Poland, and has taken many wise steps for conciliation. Although many pastors located within the confines of Czecho-Slovakia have returned to Germany, only a few have done so on governmental compulsion. The German Evangelical pastors in the Zips, that territory lying along the Carpathian Mountains, known as the Vysoká Tatra, have founded an organization to introduce German church services in all the parishes having a German population, and to bring modified theological courses into the high schools where German is the spoken tongue.

A notable fact in the recent history of Central Europe has been the hospitality of the Czecho-Slovak state to their Slavic brothers from the East. Russian and Ukrainian students have streamed in from Red Russia and from the wrecks of the White Armies of Denikin and Wrangel in Constantinople, Serbia, and Bulgaria. They have found in the great student centers of

Gratz and Prague a welcome which has reëstablished their self-respect and given them opportunity for work and education. President Masaryk has remembered his own pilgrimage as an exile in strange lands, and has been an unfailing source of strength to Ukrainians and Russians.

There are slightly over 30,000 Ukrainian political exiles in Czecho-Slovakia from the Ukraine, now a part of the Union of Soviet Republics, and from Galicia, which has been incorporated in the Polish state; a large portion of these live in Prague and in the immediate vicinity.

A Ukrainian University has been organized in Prague and a Ukrainian Technical and Agricultural Academy at Podebrady, near the city. Each of these schools has been granted the right by the Czecho-Slovak government to issue university degrees with the same standing as the degrees of the State University. The government not only pays salaries to the Ukrainian professors at both schools, but has done a large work in giving limited scholarships to poor and deserving students. This has been done largely from whole-hearted generosity, and partly as compensation to the Ukrainian people for the military equipment of two Ukrainian brigades which, in 1919, when hard pressed by the Polish Army, crossed the Carpathians from Galicia and were interned in Czecho-Slovakia. A strong Protestant movement began in 1923 among these Ukrainian exiles.

The Russians in Czecho-Slovakia also have organized their own university and are gradually developing a church life. Both Ukrainians and Russians have received large spiritual and material aid through the assistance of the European Student Relief.

The Protestant Church is making headway in this new republic. Although possessed of no considerable amount of material wealth, if the Protestant groups can escape the pitfalls of narrow divisiveness and denominationalism, they will soon achieve a great strength. They still have the most valued possession of any human institution, a past tradition which stands for freedom of conscience, the open Bible in the native tongue, and an educated and spiritual leadership,—an

ideal for which they have stood for over five centuries of unparalleled oppression. Truly in this land the blood of the martyrs is to be the seed of a great church.

Austria

During those first bitter years after the Great War, the proud city of Vienna and the small island of six million German-Austrians which surrounded it, lived under the constant shadow of starvation. National humiliation was followed by inflation which destroyed the purchasing power of their money, and hunger, which blemished the lives of thousands of nursing mothers, filling war hospitals with rickety children. By its steady weakening process the *Hungertod* claimed its thousands. The war-wounded lay along the streets and begged for bread. On the Ring and in the Graben and outside the Bristol Hotel were men who had lost legs and arms in the Carpathians or on the lonely plain of Poland, men whose government was unable to care for them and whose only hope for daily bread lay in the gifts of the few travelers from countries of a higher exchange. The *Valuta* made business on any large scale impossible except for those with large sums in foreign banks. During the winter months, when fuel could not be bought, thousands crowded into the great opera houses to warm their bodies against one another and to have their souls fed upon the *Nibelungenring,* and the great symphonies of Beethoven and Liszt, even if their bodies were compelled to go hungry. A general air of frustration was abroad and the shadows were long and black over the once sprightly capital of the Hapsburgs. One government after another came and fell, with the political and economic unsteadiness reflecting itself in the cultural and spiritual life of the people.

During this period of disillusionment and crisis the universities were filled with starving students and professors, many living on one warm meal per day served at student mensæ through the European Student Relief Fund of the World's Student Christian Federation. The universities continue in a poverty-stricken condition, the institution in Vienna receiving

only thirty-six per cent of its pre-war grants. New equipment, instruments, and scientific periodicals are almost out of the question. Before the catastrophe professors purchased annually from twenty-five to fifty books; at the present time they are able to purchase from three to eight books.

In the midst of the new struggling republic is a small group of 270,000 Protestants in a population of 6,200,000, or about 4 per cent. The great majority of these are Lutherans, the Reformed Church having a membership of 20,000. Vienna

Courtesy of New York Times

SKETCH MAP COMPARING THE TERRITORIES OF THE FORMER HAPSBURG EMPIRE TO THOSE OF THE NEW STATES OF AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

contains 80,000 of the Protestant group, divided into seven Lutheran and three Reformed parishes. The history of Austrian Protestants is one of suffering and persecution. In 1731 more than 20,000 Protestants were expelled from Salzburg.

In 1781, in the proud days of Joseph II, both the Lutheran and Reformed churches were recognized by the state and were officially tolerated, although the rights granted to them were exceedingly limited. In 1861, the last emperor, Franz Joseph, although a good Catholic, brought about an even more favorable condition for the Protestants, in setting forth the *Protestantenpatent,* which has continued in force and guarantees a state of religious freedom and equality for all confessions. This declaration has been the Magna Charta of Protestantism in Austria. In 1821 a Protestant Faculty was founded in

Vienna by the emperor which was only included in the university since the war.

The Protestant Church in Austria is known officially as the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions. This official title has given rise to many misunderstandings as to the nature of the Protestant ecclesiastical situation in Austria. The name should not be understood as designating a union of the two churches in the same sense as the term United is used with regard to the United Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union. The Augsburg and Helvetic churches have been two separate bodies and organizations from the delivery of the Edict of Tolerance and especially since the present state of official recognition has prevailed. While the ecclesiastical organization of the two churches is practically identical in form, it is entirely separate for each church. There is, for example, a Supreme Council for each, the two Councils having a common chairman. However, only in matters touching the common interests of the two churches do the two bodies join for deliberation and action. Although the two General Synods may hold joint meetings in matters of common interest, they have not done so since the year 1864.

Even though the official name suggests a single united church, there have been in Austria two national evangelical churches, entirely independent one of the other—the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession and the Evangelical Church of the Helvetic Confession. After the war an unsuccessful attempt was made to bring about an amalgamation of these two groups after the analogy of the Old Prussian Union.

The Lutheran and Reformed churches are organized according to Presbyterian principles, having almost complete legislative and administrative autonomy. The democratic principle of Presbyterianism in the days of the Austrian Hapsburg Empire suffered from the fact that the Supreme Church Council was appointed by the emperor. At present an anomalous situation exists inasmuch as the Supreme Church Council has not yet been reëlected or reorganized in

accordance with the constitutional changes which have taken place due to the overthrow of the monarchy. The two church bodies existing at the present time are thus governed by a Church Board which was organized by a government that has been in liquidation since 1918.

In the old Empire days the Supreme Church Council had the delicate task of representing in a dignified manner a small Protestant minority, in a Catholic state. The process of reorganization under the new constitution, so far as it has bearing on the Council, is nearing completion.

The administration of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions is organized in four stages: the Parish, the Seniorate, the Superintendents, and the National Church. The national church organization terms its general meeting the General Synod.

At present there are in Austria about 110 Protestant congregations, with three dioceses with Superintendents, and ten Seniorates of the Augsburg Church, and one Superintendent for the Reformed group. In all there are 265,000 Austrian Protestants of whom 250,000 are Lutheran. In addition, there are many stations among scattered groups. The congregations are generally exclusively Ausburgian or Helvetic. Where the congregation is mixed, the minister oftentimes celebrate the Lord's Supper alternately in the Lutheran and Reformed fashion.

The new educational policy of the young Austrian Republic, with the secularization of schools, means in fact the Catholization of education and the ruin of a flourishing system of Evangelical lower schools. Even under severe post-war conditions, there are 97 Evangelical schools, 32 of which are of a private character in the territory of Old Austria, 65 of which are public in the Burgenland which was ceded to Austria by Hungary.

Home mission work occupies a large part in the program of Austrian Protestant groups. Not a few of their hospitals, schools, and deaconesses' homes have been closed by the ravages of inflation. Their institutions included the Central Association for Home Missions in Vienna, the Evangelical Associa-

tion for the Care of Orphans, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Home Mission Association in Upper Austria, the Evangelical institutions in Gallenkirchen, Weiern, Weirkersdorf, the deaconesses' houses in Vienna and Grazard, the institution in Treffen near the Italian frontier, and the Home for Theological Students in Vienna.

An important Bible Training School calculated to serve the Balkan countries has recently been established at St. Andræ in Carinthia by the collaboration of Scotch and Swiss church groups. This school is proving useful to Evangelical groups in Southeastern Europe.

Protestant groups are receiving invitations to present the Protestant cause among all classes of people who are breaking away from the Roman Catholic Church. Especially among Catholic intelligentsia in Austria, there has been a reaction to the Catholic Church which has for the most part left them in ignorance on spiritual matters. It thus comes about that both the Augsburg and Helvetic groups register every year nearly 5,000 adult persons who have come over from the Catholic Church as new members. This constitutes the famous *Los-von-Rom Bewegung* (Away-from-Rome movement), whose beginnings were laid in the year 1897. The total gain for the years 1898-1913 was 75,000 persons, and from 1913 to 1918 25,000 more. Nearly 5,000 people are going over to the Protestant Church yearly. The Catholics in 1918 numbered 26 millions, the total gain for the four years 1919-1922 for the territory of German Austria alone being 21,344. The proportions of this Away-from-Rome movement, considerable as they are, do not however augur any immediate Protestant majority in this strong Catholic state. It must be borne in mind that many of the reasons of those embracing Protestantism have not been religious but have also had to do with mixed marriages and divorces.

Much more could be done to instil lasting religious teachings into the lives of these people coming from the Roman Church if the Protestant Church in Austria were not so persistently crippled by lack of funds. In this direction they have received substantial aid from the Gustav-Adolph Society

of Germany and from the Swiss Association for Protestants in Austria, which in the last twenty-five years has sent them over 1,000,000 Swiss francs for this work.

Nearly all Austrian Evangelical institutions have heavy burdens of debt and face years of severe difficulty.

The Austrian Evangelical Church has recently adhered to the German Church Federation, a movement which corresponds to a strong desire among many Austrians to unite their country with the German Republic.

Hungary

Protestantism in Hungary dates from the sixteenth century, when a large proportion of the population embraced the tenets of the Reformation. The earliest Protestant bodies in Hungary were Germans and Slovaks, Lutherans, a synod at Erdod having adopted the Augsburg Confession in 1545. A few years later the writings of Farel and Calvin became current and so appealed to the Hungarians that at the Synod of Debreczin in 1567 the Second Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism were made the symbols of the Church. Although severe persecution under the Hapsburgs almost stamped out the Reformation in Bohemia and Moravia, it gave an added impetus to the Hungarian Church.

After the Battle of Mohács in 1526 Transylvania became an independent principality and enjoyed the wise rule of several Protestant princes, under whom the church grew and prospered with its center at Debreczin. Difficulties came in 1602, when Rudolph, a Catholic king of Hungary, conquered the principality and began persecuting the Protestants. The response was a revolt under Stefan Bočskay, and in 1606 Transylvania was again independent. For seven decades Protestantism under favorable auspices struck deep roots in the land, until 1677 when Leopold I of Hungary attempted to wipe out Protestantism in Hungary and Transylvania. The Magyars were attracted by Calvinism, and the Slovaks and Germans by Lutheranism. For a century, amid grave hardships, many parishes being entirely without a pastor, the

Reformed groups preserved their spiritual unity and their distinctive contribution to the spiritual and cultural life of Hungary, a period which ended with the Edict of Toleration of Joseph II in 1781.

A significant movement occurred in 1881, when the two thousand congregations united in a union at Debreczin, in which they developed a unique combination of Presbyterian and Episcopal government. In each Tractus or presbytery was a Senior elected from the pastors and a Coadjutor Curator chosen from the ranks of the elders. Each group of five provinces was placed under the combined leadership of a Superintendent, who was a pastor and a lay curator.

Hungary was truncated following the defeat of the Central Powers. Two-thirds of her former territory was sliced away and given to her neighbors. New conditions brought disaster for church life here, while further up the Danube Basin in Bohemia they brought emancipation. The work of 1881 was undone and the whole church structure wrecked and broken into four fragments.

The first fragment of the old Reformed Church is the present Hungarian Reformed Church which has only one-half her former strength, with 1,009 congregations and 1,575,000 adherents. All the social and economic maladies which follow war and revolution have been shared by the Reformed group, whose intellectual and moral quality is manifested by the fact that a large proportion of the Cabinet officers and ministers of state are of this group.

The greatest anxiety of Hungarian Protestants is the maintenance of their splendid school system. Without this thousands of children would grow up without any adequate training.

The second fragment of the Hungarian Reformed Church is the Magyar Reformed Church in Transylvania (Rumania), with 783 congregations and 780,000 members, who have suffered severely with other ethnical and cultural minorities from the unwise and intransigeant policy of the Rumanian authorities, a policy which has been continued in the face of repeated

protestations from bodies in Europe and America and in spite of fair promises from the government.

The third segment is the Magyar Reformed Church in

SKETCH MAP SHOWING VARIOUS CHURCHES IN HUNGARY
Heavy black line indicates the confines of modern Hungary.

Religious Statistics Before the War.		Religious Statistics After the War.	
Roman Catholic	49.3%	Roman Catholic	63.0%
Uniat	11.0%	Uniat	2.1%
Reformed	14.3%	Reformed	21.3%
Lutheran	7.1%	Lutheran	6.2%
Greek Orthodox	12.8%	Greek Orthodox	1.0%
Unitarian	0.4%	Unitarian	0.1%
Jewish	5.0%	Jewish	6.2%
Other churches	0.1%	Other churches	0.1%

Czecho-Slovakia, with 280 congregations and 210,000 members; and the fourth is located in the Banat and Slavonia, the Reformed Church in Jugoslavia with 60,000 members, about one-third of whom are Germans.

A Hungarian Protestant Literary Society headed by Prime Minister Count Stefan Bethlen, Baron Albert Kaas of the Lutheran Association, Bishop Ladislaus Ravasz of the Re-

formed Church, are doing an important work in forwarding translations, publishing tracts upon Hungarian church history, bringing out religious literature, and publishing a periodical entitled *Protestans Szemle* which does much to keep Hungarian Protestants in touch with the main streams of intellectual and religious life in other countries.

The Reformed Church, in spite of the grievous handicaps from war, division, revolution, and inflated currency, maintains four Theological Faculties, in Budapest, Papa, Sarospatak, and Debreczin, the latter being included in the university. These theological seminaries now have over two hundred and seventy students. Many Hungarian students are going abroad for their training.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church maintains a theological school at Sopron, numbering sixty students. The Baptists also maintain a small Theological Faculty, as well as the Methodists. The Unitarian Church of Transylvania has its seminary at Cluj. The libraries of all seminaries are at least a decade behind in current literature. Periodicals ceased for want of funds and in the case of the Lutherans some of their finest libraries are in the section given to Jugoslavia.

As a piece of home mission work the Lorfantfy Society of the Reformed Church maintains a hospital in Budapest, which is also the training school for deaconesses. All Inner Mission activity has necessarily been greatly reduced because of post-war conditions.

The student feeding and clothing work of the World's Student Christian Federation, through the ubiquitous European Student Relief, did an important work from 1919 to 1925 in aiding hundreds of students and professors to continue their courses in the universities. If it had not been for this timely help from other lands, Hungarian life would have been even more gravely impoverished.

The church and confessional memberships, according to the most reliable statistics, are: Catholics, 5,040,000; Uniats, 158,000; Greek Orthodox, 77,000; Reformed, 1,597,000; Evangelical Lutherans, 426,814; Unitarians, 5,000; Israelites, 466,000; Methodists, 570, and Baptists, 11,000. Many Jews

have turned to Christianity in Central Europe, some reports placing the number as high as 2,500 in Budapest alone.

Provided they can surmount the trying circumstances of the present period, Protestant churches in this ancient nation which for a thousand years was the Eastern bulwark of European culture against the advance of Asiatic destroyers, should make steady progress.

Chapter VII

THE EASTERN COUNTRIES

Poland

The Protestant movement which had become established in Poland was effectively checked by the war with Sweden in 1655-1660, a conflict which brought ruin to the Evangelical churches.

At present according to government figures the religious constituency of Poland numbers 17,380,000 Roman Catholics or 63.9 per cent; 3,046,000 are Uniats, being 11.2 per cent; 2,856,000 are Jews, being 10.5 per cent; 2,850,000 are Greek Orthodox, being 10.5 per cent; 906,000 are Protestants, being 3.7 per cent. The Protestant forces place an estimate of their numbers somewhat higher.

Difficulties beset the growth of the Protestant Church in modern Poland which are inherent in the structure of the new state, reborn after a century and a half of oppression and confronted with the task of adjusting heterogeneous masses of racial, national, and religious minorities. Six racial stocks —Polish, German, Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and Jewish—have so far been unable to discover an effective basis of cultural or political coöperation.

Protestant groups are organized into a number of independent denominations which, for reasons of denominational purity, have not desired hitherto to enter into organic union with one another, a situation which persistently weakens the Protestant position in the face of a strong Catholic public opinion. Following the meeting of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, at Copenhagen in 1922, a National Council of the World Alliance was organized among the Evangelical Churches of Poland at Warsaw in January, 1923, which is doing much to promote

friendly coöperation among the various denominations, which have a combined membership of 1,010,000 out of a total population of 27,000,000 people.

Religious freedom and tolerance were guaranteed by the Constitution of March 17, 1921, although the relations between the churches and the particular state are not defined.

The government although acting very slowly is making a legal arrangement with each church body *in seriatim*. The Catholic Church having been given its status, the authorities will next turn to the Orthodox and the Uniat groups, numbering more than 4,000,000 of the population, and then arrange the legal standing of the Protestant groups, an arrangement which may well be several years in coming. The position of the Catholic Church was defined by the Constitution as the leading church among all other equally privileged churches, *prima inter pares*. Relations between the Catholic Church of Poland and the Holy See were regulated by a *Concordat* negotiated by Cardinal Gasparri and the State Department of Poland. Religious minorities were granted complete autonomy to be governed by their own rules, subject to the recognition of these rules by the state.

The problem of support for Protestant churches in Poland is a difficult one. Although provision is made in the state budget for contributions to Protestant churches, the Polish treasury has up to the present paid little for their support. Protestant groups have been unable to secure their legal and proportionate share of the government subsidy for ecclesiastical purposes.

The Protestant churches of Poland fall into five main groupings: first, the Lutheran, embracing the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Posen and Pomerellen; second, the Reformed Church; third, the United Evangelicals; fourth, the Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions in Galicia, and, fifth, the smaller bodies composed of Baptists, Methodists, Moravians, and others.

The Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession is headed by a Consistory at Warsaw. It numbers 500,000

members of whom only 200,000 are Poles, and over 100 ordained ministers. A constituent synod was called for by the government in 1922-1923, which drew up a church constitution, the first attempt of this church to introduce on a large scale the synodal principle. The section of this church lying in Galicia in old Austrian Poland still operates under the former Austrian ecclesiastical law.

The Consistory has full control over the individual parish. The minister is appointed by the church community. The Consistory has recently created a Faculty of Protestant Theology in the State University at Warsaw which has equal academic standing with the other Faculties, with an enrollment at present of fifty-two students. The professors were chosen from among the ministers of the Augsburg Church. An attempt has been made to make attendance at this Faculty compulsory for future ministers of all Evangelical denominations recognized by the state.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Posen and Pomerellen, sometimes called Old Lutheran, was legally part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Prussia until 1924, and is overwhelmingly German in its constituency. This conservative group has remained outside of the Lutheran and Reformed churches in order to preserve what it considered distinctive Lutheran principles, having seven pastoral districts and 4,100 members. Ecclesiastical authority is vested in the synod.

The second main branch of Protestants in Poland is the Reformed Church, with centers in Warsaw and Vilna, which was formed in 1849 from a union of all Reformed communities within Congress of Old Russian Poland, comprising eleven communities. In addition to the synod, which is the legislative body, there is an administrative body, the Reformed Consistory, with a lay president and an ecclesiastical vice-president. With the occupation of the Vilna territory, three small communities were added to the number of Reformed churches. They have not associated themselves with the Reformed Church center at Warsaw, but form a small synodal union of their own at Vilna, numbering 15,000 members.

The third branch of Polish Protestantism is the United

Evangelical Church of Poland, which formulated its constitution in its second National Synod on December 7, 1923, including the United Church of Polish Upper Silesia as one legal and ecclesiastical unit. Emigration by vast numbers of Germans back to Germany is seriously crippling this important body. The churches in these provinces, in the German period, formed part of the Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union, which goes back to the initiative of the Prussian king and his manifesto of September 27, 1817, on the desirability of a friendly union without fusion of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. This church numbers 400,000, all of whom with the exception of 30,000 are German.

The fourth Protestant group is the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions in Little Poland or Galicia, which embraces 24 communities with 31,000 members. They formed part of the old National Evangelical Church of Austria, which united administratively the Lutheran and Reformed denominations, while keeping the actual parishes separate, each holding to its own forms and confessions. In 1919 the representatives of the Galician communities severed from Austria, constituted an independent Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions in Poland. At the head of the church is a Superintendent. These parishes suffered greatly throughout the war, as the Austrian and Hungarian Armies clashed with the Russians throughout the length and breadth of this territory.

In Upper Silesia an agreement has been reached between German Evangelical minorities and Poles; the minorities having obtained the right to administer their religious institutions and to call ministers from abroad. The Evangelical parishes in Upper Silesia formed a United Church in this province separately from the mother church.

This constitution, which has not yet been ratified by the government, is drawn up in close concordance with the new constitution of the mother church, the Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union. There is continuity between the two churches in confession, doctrine, and cult. The synodal basis is more accentuated in the United Church of Poland, the

functions and authority of the Consistory being limited. A Superintendent General is at the head of the ministerial body, the title of Bishop is to be given to the head of the church. Woman suffrage was adopted in the church by a narrow margin.

The Evangelical population of Posen and Pomerellen has been reduced from 1,200,000 in 1918 to a figure between 300,000 and 350,000 in 1926, due to emigration, both voluntary and because of the intolerance of the Polish government. By this forced emigration 140 parishes are without pastors, and from 16,000 to 17,000 children are without any adequate religious training. The government has ruled that no German pastors may be brought from Germany, which works an extraordinary hardship on this church, with a diminished leadership. Ecclesiastical property has been sequestered; the theological library at Deboualaka, the deaconesses' houses in Posen, and the Paulinum, a boys' institute, have all been taken from Protestant ownership and use.

The seizure of the Paulinum by the state aroused many protests from the outside world. A Swedish church group wrote: "Set the Paulinum free and show the world that Poland is a tolerant state. Many gifts from fellow believers in Holland and Sweden have maintained this institution during the time of the inflation of currency. Shall the widow's mite be given in vain and a flourishing Evangelical institution be ruined by a measure of the state? Such a deed should provoke the strongest protest against the confiscation of church goods, which has been expressly forbidden by the Peace Treaty of Versailles." The answer of Poland was to oust the Evangelical school and turn the premises over to the Polish Evangelical Union, who paid the owners one-tenth of the property value. Institutions in Gnesen, Obornik, Boyanwo, and Marshallen have been either confiscated by the authorities or handed over to other Evangelical bodies. Ministers who have entered the country since 1908 are threatened with expulsion or have already been forced to emigrate. The struggles of some of these small parishes is reminiscent of the best traditions of the Puritans or Huguenots. The tiny parish of

Microw, consisting of twenty-five families, had its church and houses badly damaged by shell fire and many of its people sent as prisoners to Siberia. In the midst of poverty they are repairing their church and homes and have a flourishing primary school. Of 405 parishes in these districts, 135 are vacant. In Polish Upper Silesia there are at the present moment no more than twenty communities with about 40,000 souls, a decrease of between 40 and 50 per cent. The proposed Polish Land Law threatens 10,000 Evangelical small farmers, or about 60,000 Evangelical people with expropriation and consequently with forced emigration.

The excellent educational system of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions includes ninety-one confessional schools. The large orphanages, schools, deaconesses' training center, and hospital under the direction of D. Zoeckler in Stanislav, are pioneering examples of such work in Eastern Europe. All were badly damaged by the passage and repassage of Austrian and Russian armies in the late conflict.

Other Evangelical denominations include the Mennonites; the Baptists, embracing the Baptist Association of Congress Poland, which is German; the Association of Posen and Pomerellen, which is mainly German; the Slavic Association, a total of 107 congregations and 10,000 members; the Adventists; the Methodists, and other smaller groups. The Methodists came in at the close of the war with an extensive relief and child welfare program and have established several congregations. The Moravians have only a handful of struggling communities and it is doubtful whether they will be able to exist as a separate church body in the new republic.

Inner Mission activities have suffered especially in those regions where the anti-German policy of the government has restricted the work of the churches. Deaconess work is being developed and as prosperity increases advance steps may be expected. Foreign missionary activity of any scope has been beyond the means of these hard-pressed groups.

The task before Polish Protestantism to-day is coördination, recruiting and training of able young men for the ministry, the production of an adequate literature and periodicals,

and the development of a system of religious instruction for the young.

The Protestant groups make their way beneath a coincidence of difficulties—the strength and aggressiveness of the Roman Church, the scattered condition of evangelical groups, the inadequate supply of pastors, and the chronic fiscal difficulties in which Poland finds herself.

The Ukrainians of Poland, together with thirty-five million of their kindred in the Ukrainian Republic of the U.S.S.R. are participating in the single largest spiritual movement which Europe has witnessed for decades. The Uniats, numbering nearly four million, in Galicia, Polessia, and Volhynia, represent in Poland those sections of the Greek Orthodox world which have been united with Rome. They have retained certain ritual elements of the Orthodox Church, and have accepted the jurisdiction of the Pope, while refusing celibacy for their priests.

The new spiritual movement among the Ukrainians of Poland has been partly due to the influence of returning prisoners of war, who were profoundly affected by preaching and teaching in Austrian and German concentration camps, and by returning emigrants who have been evangelized in America. A lawyer in Horodenko, Dr. Morozowicz, is one of the most prominent leaders in the new movement toward evangelical forms of church life. The government forbade the preaching of foreign evangelists, but in spite of this restraint the movement has gathered great force. Although undoubtedly Ukrainophil sentiments constitute a bond of union against the Catholic pressure of Poland, nevertheless the movement is chiefly a religious one, a desire for spiritual freedom and a hunger for more adequate spiritual guidance. The law precludes the formation of an independent Ukrainian movement, therefore, the movement turned to the Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions as the most logical body for them to join, and they have been received in a most hospitable manner.

The Ukrainian Evangelical Church Council faces a difficulty in the fact that two tendencies in the church are proving difficult to reconcile. One group inclines to a rather severe

Protestant Presbyterian type, while the other adheres to the national ritual and ceremonial. Nevertheless, the fact that they are so closely associated with the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions, and that in this body both Lutherans and Presbyterians live side by side in harmony, has proven a stabilizing factor in this formative period. A working agreement between the two groups has already been reached.

Although the Ukrainian Alliance of the United States and Canada has sent preachers and teachers, the need is for hundreds, with periodicals, Bibles, and a whole literature of religious education.

Poland stands to gain immeasurably by a strong and liberal Protestantism, with its emphasis upon Biblical teaching, universal education and democratic control of church, state, and industry.

The Baltic States

ESTHONIA

Esthonia, formerly one of the border provinces of Russia, was wrested by force from Sweden in 1710, but at no time has its people been assimilated by the vast Russian population to which it was attached. The Esthonians, following the Bolshevist Revolution, separated from Russia and proclaimed themselves an independent democratic republic on the 24th of February, 1918. By the census of 1922 this new republic had a population numbering 1,107,059 of whom 867,000 or approximately 78 per cent were Lutherans; the Esthonian Apostolic Orthodox Church, mostly Russian, numbers 209,000 and has a Metropolitan of its own. Baptists have been working in Esthonia for thirty years and claim a membership of 5,214 and have a college. The Baptist and Methodist churches together claim 10,000 members, and 2,536 adhere to the Roman Catholic Church. The general population is 87 per cent Russian, 8.2 per cent Prussian, 0.7 per cent Swedish, and 0.4 per cent Jews.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church, which dates from the time of the Reformation, is at the present time somewhat handicapped by the memories of the past. This church, prior to the formation of the Esthonian Republic, had been too closely associated with the interests of the great landowners of German nationality, who together with the pastors, none of whom were Esthonian, were in control of the Esthonian Church. At its first meeting, the Esthonian legislature passed a Land Law by which the land properties of the church were nationalized and the collection of taxes in kind, which formerly were collected from all landholders for the maintenance of ministers, was abolished. All rural parishes lost their property in the Revolution and adopted a system of self-taxation. The problem of harmoniously combining German and Esthonian elements in one Evangelical Church is still involved.

These stipulations were in the nature of a chastisement of the Evangelical Lutheran Church for her anti-national attitude under the Russian domination, an attitude which persisted during the period of German occupation in 1918. This action was not carried through in a spirit of hostility or indifference to the church as a spiritual institution, as was clearly manifested in an appeal by popular referendum of the law passed by the Diet banning religious instruction in the public schools. The law separating church and state has not yet been ratified by the Esthonian Parliament.

The law passed on June 5, 1925, restored the lands which had belonged to parishes, but not in excess of 75 hectares of arable and 25 hectares of wood land. All lands which had been given to churches for the support of widows and orphans of clergy were also returned.

The churches suffered severely in the Revolution when many manses and churches were destroyed.

In 1919 the Evangelical Lutheran Church completed the work of reorganization. A statute of the Lutheran People's Church was drawn up and passed by the National Church Congress. The doctrinal phase was wisely left untouched, while the administrative structure of the church was completely reorganized. The legislative power was placed in the hands of

the Church Diet, in which the lay element is in the majority. The Church Diet also elects for a three-year term the Consistorium, an executive body consisting of three ministers and three laymen, and elects a bishop for a life term.

The affairs of the individual parish church remain with the General Assembly and by delegation with the Church Council of the community. There are at the present time 132 parishes and 15 administrative districts with Superintendents. The expenditures of the churches are met by a novel system of voluntary taxes, which are to be equal to one or two days' income per year of the individual member.

An interesting development is now taking place in Petseri, near the Russian frontier, where a community of Lutherans are erecting a splendid Evangelical church building by way of response to the atheism across the border. Bishop Jakob Kukk, the first Bishop of the Lutheran Church in Esthonia, laid the cornerstone in 1925. The problem of organizing the German minority effectively within the Esthonian Church is still unsolved. It is now constituted with a Propst at its head and although within the structure of the Evangelical Church it differs sharply on theological points.

Esthonia, as other newly created states of Europe, is in the most precarious position. With a long land frontier abutting on Red Russia, with whom she has had more than one quarrel, she is at the mercy of that power, restrained only by the public opinion of Western Europe, a force to which the Soviet has given little heed in the years just past. Reval was an important port for the Russian Empire and it is equally important for the U.S.S.R.

LATVIA

The Latvians became Roman Catholics in the early part of the thirteenth century. In the sixteenth century, after the Reformation in Germany, Lutheranism spread over the provinces of Livonia, Courland, and Zemgale or Semgallia. During the period of Russification after 1880 in the last century the Orthodox Church was introduced.

The population of Latvia numbers 1,844,805, of whom 1,055,167 are members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church embracing 70,000 Germans, and 15,652 are Baptists, Adventists, Moravian Brethren, and other Protestant groups. The Catholics number 416,769, the Greek Orthodox 167,538, Hebrews 95,733, the Old Orthodox 89,237, and all others 4,707; that is, 57.2 per cent are Lutheran, 22.6 per cent Orthodox, 5.2 per cent Jewish, and 0.8 per cent small Protestant *diaspora.* The rights of the Catholic Church are defined by a *Concordat* concluded with the Pope in 1922.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church is under the administration of a Lutheran Church Board elected by a synod of representatives of the Lutheran parishes. This Board consists of nine members, in which the German minorities in the Lutheran Church are represented proportionately. The Lutheran Church Board in turn is under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior. Although the Evangelical Lutheran Church is preeminent in Latvia, there is no state church and the right of free worship is given to all creeds and denominations.

The economic position of the Latvian churches has been seriously jeopardized by the agrarian laws passed in 1919. Formerly the church possessed income-producing lands, but in 1919 four-fifths of their land was taken away when the state dispossessed both church and landed gentry.

Ministerial training is provided by the Theological Faculty, numbering one hundred students, of the University of Latvia, a government institution. The seminary is interdenominational but is naturally in large part Lutheran. A second institution mainly for training in practical work is the Lutheran Theological Seminary with an enrollment of twenty-five students. These two institutions serve the Lettish section of the church. A third training center is the Theological Department of Herder Institute, a private German institution. Since the war Baptist Letts maintain a fourth Theological Faculty which promises well for the future. The financial situation of the two latter institutions is exceedingly precarious.

The government of the republic of Latvia is pursuing a liberal policy regarding education. In 1923 she had 1,874 ele-

mentary schools, with 163,867 pupils and 6,764 teachers. At the same time there were 122 secondary schools with 22,531 pupils and 2,321 teachers. In addition there were 13 professional schools having 1,447 pupils and 183 teachers; and 37 schools of agriculture, horticulture, and apiculture having 1,645 pupils and 104 teachers. At the University of Latvia in Riga there are over 6,200 students, both men and women, and 281 instructors.

The Latvian tongue is used in the public schools, with instruction in other languages—English, German, Russian, and French. Nearly every person in Latvia speaks one or two foreign tongues.

The national minorities are being handled more wisely than in most countries. Germans, Russians, Jews, Poles, and White Russians enjoy autonomous rights in regard to their schools, which are supervised by an autonomous department of the Ministry of Education.

Because of her varied history in common with the other two Baltic states, Esthonia and Lithuania, Latvia is a polyglot state. The Latvian tongue, closely related to Lithuanian and the now obsolete Prussian languages, is a median tongue bearing about an equal relation to Germanic and Slavic. Some philologists hold that the Latvian and Lithuanian are closely related to the primeval Aryan language, having the characteristics of ancient Sanscrit. The Bible was translated into Latvian in 1689.

At present a resurgence of Latvian literature and art is taking place, consequent upon the newly acquired independence of the country.

Protestantism in Latvia bids fair to flourish. A central federal free church council would do much to facilitate mutual service and prevent duplication. The great need to-day is a trained ministry in sufficient numbers to occupy the field; out of 200 Lettish-speaking parishes, 72 are without a minister. The German pulpits are all occupied.

In common with Esthonia, Latvia shares a frontier with Soviet Russia, whose rulers will not soon give up hope of retaking the superb harbor of Riga and the port of Libau.

Latvia will pursue her course amid many and grave political dangers.

LITHUANIA

Lithuania was one of the last nations of Europe to embrace Christianity. Towards the end of the thirteenth century an attempt was made to force Christianity upon her with the sword. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, two German military orders, the Order of the Teutonic Knights of the Cross and the Order of the Sword Bearers, had settled near the frontiers of Lithuania—the former at the mouth of the Vistula and the latter at the mouth of the Dvina. Under pretext of converting Lithuania to Christianity, they endeavored to subjugate the country. The Lithuanians fought for two centuries to defend their liberty and their homes.

Not being consolidated at that time by a complete union of all their branches under a single government, the Lithuanian people had great difficulty in resisting the crusades undertaken against them. The knights of all Europe rushed into Prussia in order to fight the heathen Lithuanians for their souls' salvation. Not only knights, but also kings with armies, descended upon them. Ottokar, King of Bohemia, together with the Teutonic Knights of the Cross, in 1254-1255 came to Prussia with an army of 60,000 men to fight the heathen there. In reality it was not a war to convert the people to Christianity, but a war of conquest and extermination which inspired in the Lithuanians a feeling of hatred, not only towards the Teutonic Knights but also towards the Christian faith. They naturally identified Christianity with bondage. It is, therefore, not astonishing that they should have refused, until the fifteenth century, to accept Christianity from the hands of their enemies.

During and after the Reformation a portion of the people still maintained a pagan religion. When the nobility, educated for the most part in Western modes of thought, began adopting the ideas of Protestantism in its Calvinistic form in the

first half of the sixteenth century, Protestantism made rapid headway. During this period the Roman Church was not organized in this section of Europe. When, however, a marriage bond was formed between Lithuania and Poland by the marriage of Duke Jagaila of Lithuania with the Polish Princess Jadwyga, the progress of Protestantism slackened, for Poland, being a strong Catholic nation, brought Catholic influence to bear on Lithuania. Protestants were persecuted and an attempt was made to bring them into the Catholic Church.

When Lithuania became a part of the Russian Empire, the Protestant Church had little opportunity for advancing, especially after Lithuanian participation in the liberation movements of 1830 and 1833.

After the Russian Revolution, Lithuania became an independent country, and Catholicism emerged as the dominant religion. Although the government is strongly Catholic, nevertheless religious freedom has never been denied. A chair of Protestant theology was established in the state university at Kaunas. A small Protestant minority in Lithuania is partly Lutheran and partly Reformed. With the acquisition of Memelland, there has been added a large group of Baptists.

At the present time there is almost no union except of the most informal kind between the different Protestant groups. Such a movement could do an immense amount to strengthen these churches. The Lutheran Church is autonomous and democratic. Its constitution is of the Presbyterian type, with a Consistory and a Superintendent. When the Poles, under General Zeligowski, occupied Vilna, the Reformed Church had to sever connections with the Vilna Synod. In 1922 a constitution was drawn up, democratic in spirit and similar to the Presbyterian constitution in Western countries. In the Synod the lay element occupies the leading position. The Curators, who are lay Seniors, are elected for life and are very influential. The Heidelberg Catechism has been adopted as the confession of faith for this body.

Lithuania has a population of 1,844,805 among whom

1,055,167, or 57 per cent, are Lutheran. The Catholics number 410,769, or 22 per cent, the Reformed 15,652, Russian Orthodox 9 per cent, and Jews 5 per cent.

An interesting development has taken place in the manner in which the Lutheran Church has handled the problem of nationalities within her membership. The church has been divided into three national Synods—German, Lithuanian, and Lettish. The three bodies grouped together form the Consistory. So far the Synods have helpfully coöperated and have maintained friendly and cordial relations with one another.

The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod embraces all of Lithuania save Memel, which has a population of 170,000, 90 per cent of whom are Protestants. The Germans have 38 congregations, 11 of which are pure German, the remaining being of mixed nationality. This body has 17 pastors, 30,000 members, with 4 schools, a periodical, an Inner Mission society, and a relationship to the foreign mission work of the Berlin and Leipzig missions.

The Lithuanian Evangelical Lutheran Synod occupies the southeastern part of the country and has 13 churches, 8 pastors, and 15,000 members. They also coöperate with the Berlin and Leipzig missions.

The Lettish Evangelical Lutheran Synod reports 15 churches, 4 chapels, 6 pastors, and 12,000 members, with 8 public schools, one high school where religious instruction is given two hours each week, and a thriving Inner Mission.

Protestantism in Lithuania has suffered from lack of harmony between the Lithuanian Reformed and German Lutheran Protestants, a friction which has involved the churches at times in strained relations with the government.

Lithuania was humiliated by the aspirations of Poland in regard to Vilna. For some time to come she will not be able to sleep easily with so turbulent and ambitious a neighbor at her gates. If she enjoys peace, however, she will develop her schools and churches, and her entire cultural life will move into a new era wherein the people can enjoy the fruits of their hands and hearts, such as the Lithuanians have never known.

Finland

The creation of an independent Finland realized hopes which had been suppressed for many centuries. Wedged as she is between Russia and Sweden, two powerful neighbors, Finland has been between the upper and nether millstones. From the ninth to the twelfth century Swedish soldiers, traders, and scholars crossed Finland on the road to Russia, bringing a distinct cultural influence to bear on the unorganized life of the people, an influence which was to be dominant until the beginning of the last century. Eric the Holy instituted a crusade to convert the Finns. The Swedish culture continues to exercise a formative influence; in fact, about eleven per cent of the present population of Finland is Swedish.

Those sections of the Finnish population which opposed Swedish influence were supported by Sweden's enemy, the Russian Novgorod Republic, with whom a treaty was made in 1323. The Swedes, however, followed an enlightened policy and in 1362 invited the Duchy of Finland, as it had been created, to participate in the election of the Swedish king and in 1581 they raised Finland to the rank of a Grand Duchy.

During this period the Reformation spread throughout the country, and Mikael Agricola, a warm friend of Melanchthon and Luther, became the leader.

Finland was again to suffer through the rivalry of Russia and Sweden. Peter the Great fought with Charles XII from 1700 to 1718, but the peace left the borders of Finland unchanged. In 1742 Empress Elizabeth made a vain attempt to conquer the country, but in 1808 and 1809 a war was fought which resulted in Finland being ceded to Russia. Although Finland was to retain its status as an independent Grand Duchy, no Diet was called from 1809 for fifty years. Broken promises gave rise to a strong patriotic feeling. A cycle of poems entitled *Kalevala,* or The Dwelling Place of Heroes, was published, gathering up the mythology and folk tales of the people and forwarding the development of the Finnish language as a cultural medium. Events went from bad to worse. In 1899 a military law was passed which in effect

abrogated all Finland's hard-won liberties. The Czar refused to see petitioners, and passive resistance was the only weapon left to the despairing Finns. The disastrous Russo-Japanese War brought relief, due to the Revolution of 1905 which followed, but in 1907 new and more severe restrictions were put into force.

The Russian Revolution proved to be the occasion of Finland's independence. The provisional government of Kerensky received the Finnish delegation and promised the re-establishment of her ancient liberties, but the rising tide of discontent swept away the moderates and on December 6, 1917, brought the Red régime to power. The Finns immediately struck for complete independence, their White Guards being reënforced and largely provisioned by the Germans, who occupied the territory after the collapse of the Imperial Russian forces. Several thousand were slaughtered in the struggle which ensued. By July 17, 1919, the country was pacified and a new republican constitution was promulgated. During these troubles many church buildings were destroyed and over thirty pastors imprisoned.

Finland is essentially a Protestant country in its history and point of view. Although the religious life has been shaped most powerfully by Sweden, nevertheless other countries have also exercised an influence. The bishop who accompanied Eric the Holy is reputed to have been an Englishman. Bishop Thomas, another Englishman, organized the Catholic Church in Finland in the thirteenth century. Even before the Reformation, Finnish priests studied in Prague, Paris, and German university centers.

A revival under the leadership of a farmer, Ruotsalainen, in the middle of the last century gave a new impulse to church life, while T. L. Runeberg enriched the Finnish Church with a hymnology which ranks with the best German works.

Lutheranism is the prevalent form of religious life, ninety-eight per cent of the people belonging to that church. The country now contains 3,364,807 souls, of whom ninety-eight per cent is Lutheran and 1.4 per cent, or 54,000, are Greek Orthodox. The Czarist government as a part of its Russian-

izing process sought in all ways to foster orthodoxy here as in Poland, and thereby developed no little animus against the Orthodox Church. The Baptists have a group numbering 2,839, and the Methodists 1,000, and the Roman Catholics 606.

Finnish theology was strongly influenced by German Lutheranism, and in later days by two Finnish theologians, Runnelberg and Lounnot. A Pietist movement has made a stand against atheistic socialism.

The Finnish Bible Society, founded in 1812 by a Scotchman named Paterson, is an organization which has done much to familiarize the people with the Scriptures and to furnish the church an adequate literature. The widespread distribution of the Scriptures did much to prepare the way for the great revival of 1830, under the peasant prophet, Paavo Ruotsalainen. A hymnology has developed, remarkable alike for its deep spiritual feeling and for its elegiac quality, as if something of the grandeur and melancholy of Finland's forests had been communicated to her poets.

Ingermanland, bordering on Finland in Soviet Russia, has a population of 130,000 Finnish Lutherans, and is a field for constructive efforts on the part of the Lutherans of Finland. Of the 39 parishes in Ingermanland, 36 lost their pastors in the Revolution.

The inspiration of various groups embracing the Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, the Free churches of England and Scotland, the Salvation Army, and the Y.M.C.A. brought much strength to the churches of Finland in the difficult days following the war, when a widespread anti-religious movement was carried on by the Russians.

A law concerning freedom in religious matters went into force on January 1, 1923, which provided that any person over eighteen has a right to withdraw from the state church or any other religious body, but so far only one-tenth of one per cent have manifested any desire to withdraw. When the government contemplated removing religious instruction from the schools and replacing it with moral instruction, a storm of protest was raised.

Sunday schools have flourished in Finland for nearly a

quarter of a century. Out of 580,000 children attending daily school, 20,000 are in Sunday schools. The yearly confirmation classes throughout the country total over 65,000 pupils. Many Swedish parishes, all of whom are Lutheran, are scattered throughout the country.

In general, in the country districts the type of religious life is severe and of a rather legalistic type; in the cities it is more liberal, but even here the social aspects of religion are not as much emphasized as in England and America. Conversion and personal consecration are the principal concerns of the church.

The Y.M.C.A. has made a remarkable development in Finland, where it was started in 1888 as a result of the Eleventh World Conference of the Y.M.C.A. held in Stockholm on August 15-20. There the gifted Privy Councillor, the poet Zachris Topelius, accompanied by Arthur Hjelt, now a professor of theology but then a student, became enthusiastic for the work and obtained permission of the Czar to establish it in Finland. In 1896 the first Finnish National Conference was held in Viborg. In 1899 Dr. John R. Mott visited the country and established the Student Christian movement allied with the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. A year later Boys' Work was instituted, which has grown and flourished. An unusual feature of the work in Finland is the care for the street waifs, boy bootblacks, news vendors, and messengers The Association now has 215 branches and 8,800 members. The Finnish Association invited the World Alliance of the Y.M.C.A to hold its meeting at Helsingfors in 1912, but the Russian government refused its permission. In 1926, however, the meeting was held in Helsingfors and greatly benefited by the cordiality and spiritual earnestness of the people.

Finland is bound to assume a high place among the Protestant nations of Northern Europe. Her cultural life is of a high order. Most Finns give credit to their strict prohibition of alcoholic liquors for their eagerness for education. Only eight-tenths of one per cent of her population over fifteen years of age is illiterate. It is a strange sight to see a Finnish café with soldiers and business men drinking tall glasses of

milk, the national beverage. A strong movement against alcoholism has existed there for years.

Finland, like Czecho-Slovakia, has a will to live and thrive, and the new birth which she has recently experienced is the signal for fresh efforts in all creative fields.

Russia

The antecedents of the Russian situation run back for many decades. The Revolution and its tragic aftermath were the inevitable judgment foreseen by Dostoievsky upon a theory of government and life among the ruling classes which the world had outgrown. The proletariat and other disaffected groups slowly grew until the disasters and disappointments of the war focused the suppressed desires and frustrations of millions of Russian soldiers and workers. Ten major calamities have conspired to place Russia in a condition of destitution: the inheritance of slack governmental methods of the Czarist bureaucracy; the Great War with 2,762,064 battle dead, its 1,000,000 seriously wounded, its 2,500,000 prisoners of war, and its vast economic and social dislocation; the civil wars embracing the White Army campaigns against the Reds of the Inter-Allied Force at Archangel under General Ironside, the Baltic campaign under General Yudenitch, campaigns in the Don Basin and South Russia under Generals Kaledin, Alexeef, Korniloff, and Denikin, wars throughout Siberia under the leadership of Admiral Kolchak, Generals Dutoff, Semenov, Kalmykof, and the Czecho-Slovak legionnaires, plus the presence of American and Japanese troops in East Siberia, the final struggle of General Wrangel in the Crimea; and the fratricidal warfare led by Hetman Skoropadsky, Petlura, Gregorief, Mackhno, and others in the Ukraine. For two years bloody warfare raged in Russia when the remainder of the world was comparatively at peace. Add to the grave maladies of warfare the destruction of trade, the inevitable grave setback to culture, inflation which impoverished half of Europe, typhus and malaria which claimed hundreds of thousands, the great famine of 1921 and 1922 which reaped a har-

vest of close to 5,000,000 souls, and the experiments of the Communist régime with their persecutions and reigns of terror, the suppression of all opposition parties and the throttling of the press, and one glimpses the total disabilities under which the church must make its way in a stricken Russian world.

At the present time, because of the vast social and religious upheaval in Russia, it is impossible to give any accurate figures for the present numbers adhering to the various religions and sects. Although before the war every one was listed as belonging to some church, it was estimated that there were over 12,000,000 dissenters in European Russia. The groups were calculated prior to the war as follows:

Orthodox Greek	87,123,600
Dissenters	2,204,600
Armenian Gregorians	1,179,240
Armenian Catholics	38,840
Roman Catholics	11,468,000
Lutherans	3,674,400
Reformed	85,400
Baptists	38,140
Mennonites	66,560
Anglicans	4,180
Other Christians	3,950
Karaite Jews	12,900
Jews	5,215,800
Mohammedans	13,907,000
Buddhists	433,860
Other non-Christians	285,300
	125,741,770

Present estimates place the Baptists at four millions, representing immense accretions since the war.

The origin of Protestantism in Russia dates back to Peter the Great, who attracted German peasants in the hope that his own backward people would learn the orderly and industrious ways of these neighbors. Huge parishes of Protestants formed in the large cities, Moscow having 20,000 and St. Petersburg 50,000. Katherine II invited more farmers from the state of Wittenberg and gave them special privileges for their churches

and schools. These settled principally along the Volga and in the Ukraine. More Germans came through the years until the colonists on the Volga numbered 650,000; those around St. Petersburg and in the south 750,000; and a third group in Volhynia, Polessia, and White Russia 300,000; with an estimated number of two million for the entire country. Most of these people were Protestants, for the large part Lutheran.

The Finns, who had been under Russian domination since 1807, also belonged to the Lutheran Church, as well as large Esthonian, Latvian, and Swedish groups. There are now more than 125,000 Finnish Lutherans in Russia, and 250,000 Latvians and Esthonians.

In Siberia are numerous German-Finnish colonists as well as in the region of the Amur River. They were estimated at 85,000 souls before the war.

Under the constitution granted in 1832 the whole Evangelical population formed one church, although it was very loosely connected and not very democratic. The enormous distances furthered the independence of the parishes. Many of the pastors had parishes in Siberia so large that numbers of the parishioners could only seldom attend a service. The pastor at Bulanka in Siberia could make only an annual trip to his parishes, over a distance by rail and horseback of 2,580 kilometers, while the pastor of Tobolsk covered 3,340 kilometers each year in visitation of his scattered parish.

In spite of these difficulties there was a deep religious life among these Protestant groups. Home mission work in St. Petersburg alone was represented by over one hundred institutions. Nearly all the parishes participated in the Bible Society, foreign mission enterprises, and the Central Fund for the Church.

The war and political mistrust wrought havoc with these churches. Many pastors were banished, and in 1915 the German language was forbidden and all Evangelical schools in the Ukraine were closed.

The Revolution of 1917 brought disestablishment but not freedom for the church. In the years 1918-1919 the Red Terror and hunger ravaged the Evangelical parishes and the year

1920 found a church in ruins. The entire property of the church was nationalized and many parishes were dissolved, the pastors seeking other fields in which to earn daily bread. In 1920 the reorganization began with the founding of an Episcopal Council, which again linked the parishes together, and in 1923 the church obtained the permission to hold its first synod. The non-German Lutherans, including the Finnish and Swedish adherents, formed their own provincial synod within the church and have a representation in the General Council.

The financial basis of the Lutheran Church in Russia is still in a precarious condition and the lack of ministers is still serious. To-day the church has only 87 pastors as compared to 198 in 1914.

The church began immediately to organize a new seminary in Leningrad. Lutheran help from abroad, especially from the National Lutheran Council of the United States, did much to support this church in the day of disaster.

The scarcity of religious literature is pronounced throughout Eastern Europe and especially in Russia, making it an extremely difficult task to adequately train the children. Religious education in the schools is forbidden by the government and even private instruction up to the eighteenth year is under the ban.

When the Evangelical Lutheran Church held its last General Synod in Moscow in June, 1924, it was the first time that representatives of this church could meet in Russia for common council. A special permission for the holding of this Synod had been given by the government. The Synod stated to the Soviet government: "The proclamation of liberty of conscience and faith by the Soviet is hailed with deep gratitude by the Synod. It is the first time since the sixteenth century that such a condition has prevailed and only since the disestablishment of the church this became possible. Our confession of faith obliges any member of our church to respect the government and the constitution and to be obedient to the law. The Evangelical Lutheran population will therefore always be loyal to government and is convinced of the interest and the friendliness of the Union of Soviets."

The Synod officially thanked all foreign brethren for the help granted in the years of crisis. In this Synod twenty-seven dioceses are represented, from Latvia to Siberia. A new polity was adopted emphasizing the central power of the church administration. The church is now organized in parishes and their councils, in provincial synods with their consistories, and in the General Synod with the Superior Consistory. Two bishops were elected, Malmgren and Meyer. The Siberian parishes were to be included after visitation.

The Stundist movement, so called from the German word *stunde,* hour—referring to their Bible study lesson hour—is closely akin to the Baptists. It was begun through contact of Russian peasants with German colonists in the government of Kherson and has gradually spread throughout the Ukraine and even into Galicia, Volhynia, and Polessia. It received an impulse for new growth when Alexander II decreed in 1855 that the Bible should be translated into modern Russian, a work which was completed in 1861. Although Stundism was at first a movement within Orthodoxy, the fact that Stundists rejected form and ceremony and took the Bible as the sole guide of life and worship, soon brought about persecution, which began in 1867. They finally organized themselves into a separate body and to-day probably number over 2,000,000 adherents. The Stundists are conservative theologically. Count Tolstoi derives many of the teachings of his *New Christianity* from this group. One of their principal doctrines is the necessity of manual labor for every one.

The Baptists who along with the "Christians of the Gospel," an evangelistic sect, have made the greatest progress of any church group in Russia, have been working with the aim of gathering and reorganizing the Evangelical congregations which for years have been in a state of destitution. Of late, Baptist workers, in common with nearly all religions, have come under the fire of the Bolshevik anti-religious propaganda and the cynical *Bezboshnik,* the anti-God magazine. An extensive relief work was carried on by American Baptists during the great famine of 1921 and 1922 and many thousands of lives were saved. Having formerly been a small minority,

the Baptists escaped a large measure of the odium which was cast upon the established Orthodox Church as being the tool of the Czarists and the capitalists. Large numbers have been added to their ranks in recent years. By fair dealing they have gained legal recognition from the Soviet government.

The "Christians of the Gospel" are estimated at four million by their own figures. They sprang up as a result of Russian prisoners of war who had been evangelized in German prison camps.

The Catholic Church in Russia has a strong foothold in many of the governments of Russia. In the Mohilew she has 152 churches, with 82 priests and 320,000 adherents. In the diocese of East Siberia—Vladivostock—there are 4 parishes with 20,000 souls; in Toraspol, 90 churches have a membership of 300,000; in the Crimea and Caucasus, 30 churches with 80,000; in the diocese of Kamienica, 113 churches with 320,000; in Luch, 107 churches with 350,000; in Minsk, 46 churches with 160,000. In addition, there are 50 Armenian Uniat churches with 48,000.

The Reformed Church in Russia was composed mainly of Germans and Swiss, and in 1914 had twenty-five flourishing congregations. As a consequence of the Revolution only a few struggling parishes remain. One is in Moscow and another is in Odessa. The latter church has been for months without a pastor, a lone presbyter reading the sermon and the prayers and distributing the sacraments. In White Russia alone there are five Reformed parishes without a pastor.

The Mennonites have small communities scattered throughout Russia and have made an authentic contribution to the spiritual life of Russia in their insistence on a non-military solution of international questions and by their genuine piety.

There are small *diaspora* of Anglicans and other Christian bodies in various sections of Russia, many having maintained an isolated existence for years. The years ahead promise to bring forth national coöperating bodies of all the Protestant denominations, which will mean reëstablishment to these scattered groups by getting them in touch with the main currents of religious life throughout the world. They recently received

a gift of four thousand Bibles from Germany, under a special permit of the Soviet government. The value of such a gift can hardly be realized in a country where there is a famine of books and reading matter and a special ban upon the sale of Bibles. Bishop Nuelson of the Methodist Church recently received permission to print Bibles in Russia.

A widespread separatist movement within the Orthodox Church is going on in the Ukraine, strongly influenced by nationalist feelings in that region. The result will probably be an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church, with services in the vernacular and certain liturgical reforms.

Another movement among Ukrainians, not only among those within the confines of the U.S.S.R. but also in the Ukrainian overflow in Polessia, Volhynia, Galicia, and Ruthenia, is the strong discontent among the Uniats of whom there are nearly five million. Thousands are turning to Reformed and Lutheran groups, and if an adequate ministry could be provided they would form a large Protestant *bloc* in Eastern Europe which would mean much to all the religious groups in that area. The backward methods of Uniat clergy no longer satisfy the spiritual yearnings of many hundreds of thousands who have been stirred up by the new ideas brought back by soldiers who came in contact with vital Protestant groups in German prison camps and as emigrants to other lands. The Ukrainian National Alliance in America has sent Bibles and religious literature and several teachers and preachers for this religious renascence among their people, which promises if aided to be one of the most significant in size and power since 1517.

One of the most critical needs before all religious bodies in Russia is the need of seminaries with professors and courses of study abreast of modern learning. In spite of all the hardships of recent years, over one hundred and fifty students are now denied entrance to seminaries because of the lack of facilities.

A second pressing need is an adequate supply of the Scriptures in the various tongues of Russia and religious periodicals and literature to keep members of all groups over the vast

Russian steppes informed as to movements in the religious life of the outside world.

The ancient Orthodox Church of Russia, embracing three-fourths of the population, has gone through a fiery furnace during the last decade which has caused her to scrutinize all her presuppositions and practices. The Bolshevist government has slain thousands of parish priests and church dignitaries, either without trial or after a session before a prejudiced tribunal. The crudities and enormities of the revolutionary régime have caused many in the Orthodox clergy and membership to overlook the historical reasons for the great social, political, and economic cataclysm in Russia and to react strongly to the immediate group in power. This is entirely understandable, but the circumstances have left the Red régime in power and churchmen have been compelled, both within and without Orthodoxy, to work out a *modus vivendi* with the existing powers. There is no other way.

The Living Church, although containing liberal elements which asked for needed reforms, was undoubtedly fostered by the Soviet as a divisive element in the church life of the country. This group has now largely lost its power.

The main division of the Orthodox Church has gone through many internal struggles. The revered Patriarch Tikhon struggled against the anti-religious government until his death in 1926. The present leaders are slowly achieving a working arrangement with the Bolsheviks which represents a more lenient attitude by the Reds, as well as a less antagonistic mood on the part of the church.

The periodical *Bezboshnik* published by the League of Communist Youth, an auxiliary of the Communist party, is a paper of generally thirty pages which contains diatribes upon religion and cartoons in colors which burlesque holy pictures and ridicule Bible scenes, utterances of Christ, sacraments, and religious ideas in the crudest and most vulgar manner. This sheet viewed historically is of the same category as the obscene outbursts against religion which followed the French Revolution, when the church reaped the fruits of a too close relation with the unethical Bourbon state. Such gross calumnies and indis-

criminate condemnation are having three effects: they are causing the church to be more circumspect in teaching and practice; they are generating sympathy on the part of many toward an oppressed clergy; and they are arousing the indignation of religious people everywhere, who see in these obvious overstatements an inappropriate means of ridding the church of false claims for miracle-working ikons, holy relics, weeping Madonnas, and other obscurantist devices to which the church in past years has been a party.

In contemporary art exhibits religious pictures are forbidden, but this order does not affect canvases hung in permanent or national galleries. In standard classic plays and operas religious scenes are not deleted, but in no modern drama are they allowed. At the famous shrine of the Iberian Virgin, near the Kremlin and just outside the Red Square, the government has posted Lassalle's dictum upon the walls, "Religion is an opiate for the people." But in spite of all anti-religious effort religious life is more deep and widespread among the Russian people than in the population of any other nation.

Communists cannot forget that many priests and prominent church people were members of the Black Hundreds which smothered with machine-guns and secret police the just claims of the revolutionists of 1905. Gradually the abiding values are being rescued from the fleeting phantasmagoria of murder, trial, accusation, and recrimination. Certain it is that a large element in the Orthodox Church have given and are willing to give that blood and life which in all ages have been the seed of the church. The direct onslaught upon religion having failed, the Bolsheviks are now enjoying the policy of exploiting internal dissension among the ecclesiastical bodies.

The anti-religious policy of the Bolsheviks has had at least one good result—the destruction of superstition by exposing many practices revolting to common sense and religious feeling. It has also been instrumental in a measure to a renewed interest in religious life by crowning the Orthodox Church with martyrdom and by its fearful persecutions refining and strengthening its spiritual power. What has occurred within the last few years in the Orthodox Church has been called

nothing less than a reformation. The Orthodox Church has also drawn nearer to the Evangelical churches. Orthodox priests have seen the value of preaching and edification as well as ritual and prayer.

Russian Orthodox theology, always influenced by Protestant theology, has, since the Revolution, shown a marked independence and originality from the customary conservatism of the East. Something in the nature of a liberal current may be detected in the religious philosophy of *émigrés* like Bulgakov, Florensky, Chomjakov, Karsawin, and others. Among this group the church is a paramount consideration.

It must be acknowledged by all parties that the Soviet power has attempted to raise the level of education in Russia. While in 1913 only fifty per cent of the children were under instruction, in 1925 there were sixty per cent. But the school is used by the government as the most powerful instrument against religion and the bourgeoisie, religious instruction being entirely forbidden and atheism taught in the crassest terms.

The most serious menace to the cultural and religious life of Russia lies not so much in extreme poverty and anti-religious propaganda among adults as in the atheistic and anti-religious teaching within the schools. There settled prejudices may be formed which will sterilize the soul of Russia in the years to come.

In spite of chaotic conditions modern Russian thinkers believe Russia has a contribution to the world in the emancipation of the East from the imperialistic West, in the liberation of suppressed people and classes, and in the ideal of technicalization without spoliation of the working classes.

Chapter VIII

THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

Bulgaria

The Protestants of Bulgaria are a non-ethnical minority, most of whom are of Bulgarian nationality. Several Protestant sects, notably the Adherents of the Holy Bible, the Baptists, the Adventists, and the Followers of Pentecost, are carrying on work. The Orthodox, by far the largest group, numbers 4,006,829, the Roman Catholics 34,072, Armenians 10,848, Jews 43,332, and Mohammedans 690,734.

The number of Protestants is about 7,000, scattered throughout the kingdom, owning 79 churches and maintaining 61 pastors and preachers and 10 Bible readers. Most of the Protestant parishes are Congregational, having some 3,500 members in 60 parishes, followed by the Methodists and Baptists. The Protestant churches have a federation and maintain an orphanage coöperatively, as well as a press and a paper, *The Morning Star.* The churches of the Evangelists, Adherents of the Holy Bible, and of the Baptists are administered by an Annual Conference composed of the ministers and delegates from the membership. Each church has a Spiritual Ecclesiastical Council which concerns itself with the question of belief and an Administrative Council which cares for its material upkeep, which is undertaken by the members.

Other churches seek aid of the Bulgarian Protestant Associations or Bulgarian Protestant Missions. A German congregation in Sofia receives aid from the *Oberkirchenrat* in Berlin.

Ministers are elected by the members themselves either for a definite number of years or for an indefinite time. Religious services are held not only in Bulgarian but also in English, Armenian, and Turkish, according to the predominant lan-

guage among the members in a given locality. The ministers have entire liberty to use whatever language seems to them best adapted to their parishes.

There are many Protestant schools, which are well attended by both Protestant and non-Protestant children. A gymnasium is located at Samokov for boys and girls, instructing 245 pupils, with an enrollment of 40 men and women teachers. At Lovetch there is another girls' school with 105 pupils and 16 teachers.

Besides these regular schools with facilities for boarding, there are special courses organized for two weeks each summer for the instruction of pastors, preachers, and Bible readers, and the teachers of the 64 Sunday schools, which have an enrollment on the teaching staff numbering 165 and are attended by 3,200 students of all ages.

Each Protestant church school is directed by a School Council of men and women, including Bulgarian and American members. The American members are missionaries, who are entitled to share in the Council, while the Bulgarian members are assigned by the Annual Conferences of the Protestant members.

The official language taught in the schools is Bulgarian, but several branches are taught in English. The Samokov Gymnasium is the authorized secondary school, at which the Bulgarian government is represented at the time of the yearly examinations by delegates who note the progress of the students.

The Protestant schools of Bulgaria are maintained by two sources of revenue: the fees paid by the students and the subsidies which are accorded the schools by the American denominational Boards carrying on work in this region.

The Y.M.C.A. has twenty-seven branches in Bulgaria, approved by the government and carrying out their aims in complete freedom. They are respected by the Bulgarian people and have a large membership. Their conferences and reunions are always well attended and have brought indisputable moral benefits to the young manhood of Bulgaria.

The World Alliance for Promoting International Friend-

Courtesy Pastor Hornicek

A NEW CHILDREN'S HOME. ONE OF THE SEVERAL LARGE ESTATES PURCHASED BY THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CZECH BRETHREN FOR PHILANTHROPIC PURPOSES

ONE OF MANY HUSSITE MONUMENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA GIVING PROMINENT PLACE TO THE COMMUNION CUP

ship Through the Churches is represented in Bulgaria by Monseigneur Stefane, Bishop of Sofia, with M. Fournadieff as secretary.

The Associations of the Balkans recently called together a conference at Sinaia, which included representatives from Rumania, Jugoslavia, Greece, Albania, and Bulgaria. Much can be expected from such international church organization in this region in the years immediately ahead.

Bulgaria has many Protestant charitable and cultural associations for both men and women, the government offering every facility for such work. Protestant communities are permitted to organize themselves and develop their religious, cultural, and humanitarian activities. Protestant pastors and preachers travel freely, preaching where they think they ought and in the language which they believe to be best adapted to the places through which they travel.

Bulgaria passed through grueling times in the Balkan Wars and during the World War and her experiences in peace have been no less difficult. Inflation, war debts, reparation payments, persistent border vendettas with Macedonian revolutionists, the harebrained attack by General Pangalos with his Hellenic army, court intrigues and political murders culminating in the bomb outrage which killed one hundred and fifty people in the Cathedral at Sofia, have furnished an atmosphere little calculated to bring forth the fruits of the spirit. But both the Protestant and Orthodox churches may look forward with confidence to the future if Bulgaria can stabilize her politics and keep out of wars.

Greece

Protestantism has slowly become indigenous in Greece and is achieving a rapid growth due to the influx of immigrants from Asia Minor. Before the World War, small churches and religious centers were located in Athens, Piræus, Volo, Janina, Salonika, and intermittently at Serres, Drama, Katerini, and Patras.

Eastern Orthodoxy maintained a friendly attitude toward

the Reformation, a feeling which has persisted especially toward the Anglican Church. Cyril Lucaris of Crete (1572-1638), Patriarch of Alexandria and later of Constantinople, sought to introduce reform into the Greek Church, by having the Bible translated into the contemporary Greek and drawing up a confession which was strictly Calvinistic in form. Cyril's liberalism drew fire from the conservative Patriarchs who met in Jerusalem in 1672 and condemned those doctrines which were characteristically Protestant.

Relations between Protestant groups in the West and the Greek Church fell into abeyance until 1816 when the Church Missionary Society of England started its Mediterranean Mission with Malta as a radiating center. The Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and numerous tracts and leaflets were translated and distributed. The Protestant Episcopal Church followed in 1830 with strict instructions to their workers not to proselytize or form a separate church. Dr. Hill later opened a girls' school in Athens which has continued to merit the highest esteem of the Greek people, due to the fact that he refused to proselytize. American Baptists entered Greece in 1836, leaving the field twenty years later, returning in 1871 only to depart again in 1887.

The American Board began its work in the Near East soon after its inception in 1810 which brought them in constant and friendly contact with the Greek Church. Work was begun in Smyrna in 1820. Owing to the exigencies of the War of Greek Independence Malta was made the center of activity, but upon conclusion of the peace the American Board began work which was mainly educational in Argos, Ariopolis, and at other points. Because of controversies regarding the use of images, candles, worship of the saints, and prayers for the dead, the American Board gave over its work in Greece and continued its activities among the Greeks of Turkey.

Southern Presbyterians entered Greece in 1875 and supported the vigorous Evangelical movement under the leadership of Dr. M. D. Kalopothakes. Congregations were established in Athens, Piræus, Salonika, Volo, and Janina, especial emphasis being laid upon publications. Because of disagree-

ment the Southern Presbyterian Board left in 1889 but their work was well done and an indigenous church continued under the name of the Evangelical Church of Greece, *Helliniki Evangeliki Ecclesia,* which follows Presbyterian polity and organization and maintains the Synod of the Evangelical Church of Greece.

In addition to the larger work of the Evangelical Church, the Plymouth Brethren supported from England and Switzerland have regular service in Patissia near Athens, and the Russellites and Church of God adherents carry on an aggressive campaign for new members characterized here as elsewhere by intolerance and criticism of other groups.

With the large influx of refugee Evangelicals and with the stimulus of a national humiliation which meant death unless met with courage and vision, the Evangelical Church is gathering strength in a time of dire spiritual and material need.

Following the Greek defeat in 1922, the Turkish government ordered the immediate deportation of the Christian minorities. The story of the unnecessary sufferings and death on these forced migrations from Anatolia is one of the darkest chapters of the war. Greece was inundated with over a million refugees from the Smyrna, Constantinople, and Pontus regions, an addition of at least one-fifth of her previous population, at a time of disaster and complete governmental collapse. Her care of these destitute people has demonstrated the vigor and trustworthiness of Greece in a period when her good name had grown to be something of a memory in the Western world.

The stream of refugees brought with it heavy responsibilities to the small Protestant communities. There were many Protestants among the new arrivals from Smyrna and the Black Sea towns, and from the interior of Asia Minor. The existing churches were crowded and new meeting places had to be improvised among the refugee camps.

The Evangelical Church at Salonika is crowded at every service. With the recent development of that port, it will inevitably be the commercial and cultural center for the whole of Greek Macedonia and will in a few years be able not only

to adequately support its own churches and schools but also to assist the poor districts.

All Protestant centers in Macedonia are in urgent need of men and more adequate buildings. Especially in large refugee concentration points, like Katerini, Arbaout, and Berea, the people desire churches and a regularly established ministry.

One of the most significant influences in the religious life of Greece has been the long and well-established relationship between the Anglican and Greek churches. The Catholic approach to Greece has been largely through Uniat priests who have carried on an active work among the immigrants from Asia Minor, influencing many young people to attend Italian and French schools which are uniformly Roman Catholic.

In the present condition, when the whole life of the Near East peoples has suffered a thoroughgoing realignment, the more practical and alert social program of Western Protestantism makes a great appeal to those who must face the creation of a new homeland. The Orthodox Church in these regions will benefit enormously by the presence of adequately supported Protestant groups.

No finer work in the general sphere of Protestant Christian activity has been done in Europe than the work of the Y.M. C.A. in the Hellenic kingdom. This work was started during the war among the troops and has persisted and commended itself to the church, people, and government of Greece. The Y.W.C.A. has also carried on a far-reaching work.

The acute question as to where the refugees should be settled could have only one answer for Greece: the major portion had to be sent to Macedonia. Day after day, boat loads of refugees landed at Salonika, Cavalla, and minor ports. Most of these were the descendants of Greeks who had lived in Asia Minor long before the Seljuk and Osmanli Turks broke off from the Transcaspian Turanian hordes and overran Anatolia and Southeastern Europe. All spoke Turkish, and at least one-fourth spoke no other tongue. On the quay at Salonika, Greek-speaking Turks from Macedonia often sought in vain to converse with Turkish-speaking Greeks regarding the country to which they were going. The white minarets of Turkish

mosques are still to be seen throughout the land, but the Turk has gone to stay. A commission in care of religious places is in operation and a time limit has been set after which the mosques will be taken down. The country will suffer the loss of a picturesque architectural feature, but the perpetual reminder of a tyrannous overlord and merciless enemy will be removed from the Greek eye. In the territory which the Turks occupied, Greece finds her greatest opportunity to settle her refugee population.

The Near East Relief not only saved the lives of one hundred thousand refugees in this crisis but also, through its medical aid, orphanages, work-shops, public health stations, and child-placing program, has reëstablished thousands in a life of health and self-support. The presence of this organization coöperating with the Near East at the time of the Smyrna disaster prevented an even more gruesome debacle, in which many thousands would have perished from starvation, exposure, and disease.

One of the greatest assets which the Greek nation possesses in Macedonia at the present time is the number, now nearly ten thousand, of young boys and girls who are graduates of the orphanages of the Near East Relief. After a careful personal investigation of families, the children are placed in homes of relatives or friends, either as permanent members of the family or under a definite wage contract. No group of children in Southeastern Europe is receiving better training up to the time they leave the various orphanages. The presence during the next two decades of what will be nearly fifteen thousand of these children, who have had the best intellectual, manual, and moral training possible for Western civilization to give, will be an economic, cultural, and spiritual addition to the life of Macedonia of incalculable value.

Bulgar, Greek, Serb, Turk, and Albanian are still ready to fly at each other's throats, as witnessed by the recent threats of various governments, but the underlying reasons for disturbance are less to-day in Macedonia than for many decades. If the present antipathies can have time to die down, the spirit of wisdom and reciprocity can usher in a new day for Greece.

Albania

Modern Albania is the creation of a council of ambassadors who, following the stormy events after the Balkan Wars, agreed to recognize her as a sovereign independent state on July 29, 1913, under perpetual neutrality guaranteed by the great powers. Prince William of Wied, who was selected as the candidate least offensive to those who formed the new state, abandoned his principality on September 3, 1914, after a bungling attempt to settle a revolution.

During the World War the country was ravaged by various armies, the population dividing in their loyalties between the Allies and the Central Powers. At present Albania is a republic with a population of 831,877 people, 584,675 of which are Mohammedans, 158,215 are Greek Orthodox numbered chiefly from the Tosks, 88,987 are Roman Catholic, mostly among the Ghegs who went over from the Orthodox to the Roman Church in the middle of the thirteenth century.

Many of the Albanian Christians were converted by fire and sword to Islam in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They have preserved many Christian customs as have the Bulgarian Pomaks who were converted in like manner to the Prophet.

Protestantism has only a few isolated groups in Albania, although several schools and vocational and industrial enterprises are fostered by Protestant groups in America. Approximately one thousand Lutherans are located in different parts of the country. The British and Foreign Bible Society has one *colporteur* in Albania and two independent American missionaries are carrying on a varied school and church work at Kortcha.

The government is giving renewed attention to education and has asked the Methodists to undertake certain schools.

Albania remains one of the seed-beds of Balkan revolutions constantly fomented by Albanian politicians publishing periodicals calculated to divide tribe against tribe and to prevent the country from settling down to permanent peace.

Jugoslavia

Protestantism has had a difficult course in the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, partly due to the fact that churches of widely differing cultural and racial background have had no previous experience of coöperation, and also because an interconfessional law regulating the relations of the churches to the state and of the churches among themselves is still awaiting ratification. These small Protestant bodies are facing the future in a country almost wholly unacquainted with evangelical Christianity. The evangelical element is composed partly of Germans, partly of Hungarians, and partly of Slovenes.

The Protestant churches of Jugoslavia are divided into three groups; first, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Augsburg Confession, with Seniorates in the Banat, Backa, Croatia, a Wendian, Serbian, and German Seniorate, and a Bosnian Synod, with a total of 118,935 members; a second group composed of the Slovakian Evangelical Church with Seniorates in Backa, Srem, and the Banat with 66,700 members; and a third group, the Reformed Church, with 60,000 members.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Augsburg Confession is confronted with the task of grouping into one national organization churches differing in their historical background and social and ecclesiastical structure, ecclesiastical fragments from Austria, Hungary, Bosnia, and Serbia.

The Slovak Seniorates, disregarding the appeal for Lutheran unity, separated themselves from the German Seniorates and organized a separate church of the Augsburg Confession, officially known as the District of the Independent Evangelical Slovak Church in Jugoslavia, numbering fifty-two thousand souls. The Seniorates of Batch, Banat, Croatia-Slavonia, Prekmurye, Slovenia, Zagreb, Backa, and the Synod of Bosnia after the secession of the Slovak Seniorates, organized themselves as the Evangelical Church District of the Augsburg Confession in Jugoslavia, numbering a hundred and twenty thousand members. At its session in June of 1925 the Convention of the Slovak District went on record

as favoring coöperation with the German district, with a joint presbyterium for the two churches, but leaving the Slovak district under its own and separate administration. The internal organization of the two church districts has not yet been completed. An important event occurred in May, 1925, when King Alexander granted to the Evangelical Church District, by ukase, the power to elect and convene the Synod which was held at Novi Vrbas. The Slovak Church District has taken a similar step. The Evangelical Church District church government will probably include a District Convention which will be a legislative body, a District Church Board which will dispose of matters which cannot wait for attention until the next meeting of the Convention, and a Consistory which will act on juridical matters.

The Seniorates of Slovenia and Beograd and the Synod of Bosnia have a mixed denominational structure, Lutheran and Reformed, and present a delicate problem in fixing the doctrinal status of the church.

The twenty-five thousand Evangelical Vendians of the former Hungarian district of Prekmurye are the only Southern Slavs that became Protestant at the time of the Reformation.

The Reformed Church in Jugoslavia, before the reshaping of the political map of Europe, formed part of the Hungarian Reformed Church, numbering sixty thousand members, three-fourths of whom are Magyars and one-fourth Germans. At a meeting of the representatives of the Reformed Church in Sombor in June of 1922, the Reformed Seniorate was constituted, which embraces all Reformed communities in Jugoslavia. The major task in reorganizing the church in its new environment consists in establishing a centralized administration. All administrative matters are dealt with by the Presidential College, the Seniorate's Council elected by the presbyteries of the Seniorate, and the yearly Session of the Seniorate. The legal basis of the Reformed Church is still unsettled and probably will not be until the government has negotiated a *Concordat* with the Vatican.

The Reformed Church numbers 47 congregations, and 60,000 adherents, 39,000 of whom are Magyar, 19,800 are

German, 500 are Croatian, and 500 are Czech. The church suffers from a serious lack of pastors and educators, the state having seized, without compensation, thirty-eight of the Reformed schools and removed the teachers from their posts.

The idea of community organization under the leadership of the local church and of social work of a broader scope is gaining ground among church people, especially in the Reformed Church. A home mission work has been recently begun, which is a novel experience for the churches and the first nucleus of a common interdenominational endeavor.

Home mission work and evangelization constitute the greatest need of Protestantism among the Southern Slavs. Reverend Rihner has been a pioneer in this field, founding the *Diakonieverein* in Novi Vrbas.

The Methodists and Baptists have established several centers since the war, but face difficulties from the fact that the government has not granted them the same recognition as the Lutheran and Reformed churches have received.

All the churches are forced to send their students abroad for theological training, as there is no seminary in the whole country.

Jugoslavia has played a large part in the history of Eastern Europe as the meeting place of Latin, Slav, German, Greek, and Mongol, as well as of Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Protestantism, and Islam. The Protestant churches in this new nation have inestimable contributions to make to a country whose larger interests have been frequently sacrificed to the benefit of foreign rulers.

Rumania

The outcome of the Great War has enabled Rumania to realize her keenest political aspirations. She has erected a kingdom uniting all territories hitherto attached to other political powers wherein Rumanians were in a majority. These national hopes being fulfilled, the government was at once confronted with a grave social and cultural problem created by the annexation of a large foreign population.

The idea of national unity has possessed the mind of the Rumanian people to the exclusion of the just claims of her minorities for the protection of their cultural and religious life. The government has partially ignored the minority provision in the Treaty of Saint-Germain and is seeking to Rumanize as quickly as possible all non-Rumanian sections of the Greater Kingdom. The policy of Rumanization is carried on by means of force, agrarian laws which have dispossessed the Protestant churches of their accumulated savings and endowments which were all in land, and hostile administrative measures.

Various national minorities coincide with religious and ecclesiastical minorities in the newly acquired territories, while the old kingdom had a homogeneous structure both nationally and religiously. The established Greek Oriental Church is a symbol of Rumanian nationality and the government evidently hopes by hostile pressure to induce religious minorities, which are considered strongholds of nationalist consciousness, to find refuge in the Rumanian national church and thus complete the process of Rumanization. Including annexed territories in the Banat, Transylvania, Bukowina and Bessarabia, the Orthodox Church has a membership of eleven million, whereas before the war she numbered only seven and a half million.

The land laws, which theoretically expropriates the great landowners and distributes the land among the small peasants, in reality is a disaster to the national and religious minorities, since they contain especially severe provisions applicable to the newly acquired provinces. Compensation paid for lands expropriated is very small, not exceeding from five to ten per cent of the actual value of the properties. The catastrophic results of this land policy for the life of the Protestant churches will be fully appreciated if one bears in mind that the Protestant churches in Hungary for centuries have lived and maintained a flourishing system of schools from the income of their large land properties.

Schools maintained by the national and religious minorities are being constantly suppressed. Without schools, the language as well as the religion of the minorities is doomed to disappear. The ancient college of the Reformed Church at

Szaszvaros was taken over by the government recently without compensation and even the use of the chapel refused to the local congregation.

Another destructive measure in the government's treatment

MAP SHOWING RUMANIA'S IMMENSE GAINS AT THE EXPENSE OF HUNGARY AND RUSSIA. THE ASSIMILATION OF DIVERGENT NATIONALITIES, CULTURES AND RELIGION IS HER MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM.

of the national minorities is a law bearing directly on the economic and business life of the country. Under the provisions of the law, all trading, industrial, and banking enterprises must have a majority of Rumanian stockholders, Rumanians by birth, and the majority of shares must be in Rumanian hands. This nationalization of business has, as may easily be seen, sinister consequences in the life of the new Rumanian provinces. If the Hungarians and Germans of Transylvania fall before the Rumanian onslaught against their religion and

culture, a body blow will be struck at Protestantism throughout the whole of Eastern Europe. The situation has been further complicated by a recalcitrant policy on the part of many church leaders which makes coöperation on the part of Rumanian officials exceedingly difficult.

The Protestant churches of Rumania include three main groupings. The first is the Hungarian Reformed Church, organized in two dioceses—the Transylvanian diocese, which had been a diocese before the war, consisting of 620 congregations with 460,000 members, and the district cut off by the Treaty of Trianon from the diocese of Debreczin in Hungary and given to Rumania, consisting of 183 congregations with 230,000 members. The seat of the diocese, Debreczin, was left to Hungary and the district transferred to Rumania has not yet been fully reorganized ecclesiastically, the Rumanian government refusing to acknowledge the election of a bishop for the proposed new diocese. Its administrative center and the proposed see of its bishop is Oradea Mare. The Transylvania Reformed Church has a bishop residing in Cluj. Home mission work in its various branches has been slow in developing and has been introduced only since the war.

Transylvania was a Protestant principality. Its princes, Bethlen Gabor, Stefan Bočskay, and Rakoczy György, were not only convinced Protestants but laid the foundation of a far-reaching school system to which they called many famous scholars. To-day these schools are seriously imperiled by agrarian laws and hostile social pressure.

The section of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Old Rumania has 780,000 adherents, with 783 ministers. It maintains about 450 grammar schools, 20 high schools, and a theological academy in Cluj with six professors and 146 students. The government grants financial help for the ministers and the theological professors, but the grammar and middle schools of the Reformed Church have not yet been granted such subsidies.

The second large Protestant church group in Rumania is the Lutheran or the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, a composite organization of various Lutheran groups which carried on an independent existence before the war.

This church is the result of seven hundred years of colonization of serious-minded German people. They have generally maintained good relations with Orthodox groups, the priest and the minister often replacing each other in emergency cases. The church buildings, often called church castles, were the ancient fortresses of the Christians against the Turks.

The principal element in the new Lutheran Church is the Evangelical National Church of the Augsburg Confession in Transylvania, a body with a stormy history. Its members for centuries have been Transylvanian Saxons, large numbers of whom were invited to these regions as colonists by Hungarian kings during the twelfth century. The church at present counts 250 congregations and 234,224 members, enjoying full autonomy and supported by the state. The organization of the church is along the lines of the Presbyterian system. The administrative organization has three basic units: the individual congregation, with the minister and a lay curator as its functionaries; a number of neighboring congregations forming a district community; and the national church, the totality of individual congregations and district communities.

Transylvania presents a babbling mixture of religious and nationalist feelings composed as it is of 2,500,000 people, 1,500,000 of whom are Rumanians, 800,000 Magyars, 240,000 Germans, 60,000 Jews, 10,000 gypsies. In regard to church affiliation, 800,000 belong to the Orthodox, 770,000 are Uniat, 375,000 are Catholic, 400,000 are Reformed, 235,000 are Lutheran, 70,000 are Unitarian, and 60,000 are Hebrews.

The highest functionary and representative of the church is a bishop, residing in Hermannstadt, who has beside him a lay curator. The legislative organ is the Assembly of the National Church, which elects the Bishop from the nominees of the congregations and districts, meeting at intervals of three years, while the executive organ is the Consistory of the National Church.

The other groups associated with the Evangelical Church in Rumania are the Bukowina District, with 21,305 members, a church which is nearly one hundred and fifty years old; the Banat District, with 17,013 members, composed of South

German colonists residing in this part formerly belonging to Hungary; the Bucharest District, comprising the Evangelical communities of the old Kingdom of Rumania, numbering 18,160 with 17 congregations and many branches; and, more loosely associated with these groups, the National Evangelical Lutheran Church of Bessarabia, formerly part of the Russian Empire, with 65,828 members and 120 congregations. Together with 2,635 Magyar Lutherans, this church now numbers 359,199 members.

Outside the National Evangelical Church, there is a group of about fifteen Evangelical communities formerly belonging to Hungary and speaking the Hungarian language. They intend to organize themselves as a separate and independent Seniorate.

Home mission work is well organized within this church, a large problem being the care of scattered groups especially in the Bucharest district.

The major difficulty before the Lutheran churches, as before all the others, is the maintenance of their confessional schools, although they have been more fortunate than the Reformed Church in securing governmental subsidies. Lutherans have seven colleges and two normal schools, whose libraries and general equipment have suffered from lack of adequate upkeep. They are unable to support a seminary, and an average of fifteen theological students go abroad annually to Germany or Switzerland to take up their seminary courses.

The third large Protestant group is the Hungarian Unitarian Church, organized as an independent church in 1568, when the Transylvanian Principality proclaimed the equal liberty of all creeds, the first European government to take such action. It has enjoyed official recognition by the state ever since. The church numbers from sixty to seventy thousand souls and has 112 ministers.

The legislative branch of this church is the Synod, *Consistorium Synodale,* which, for the number and persons of members and the field of activity, coincides with the Supreme Church Council, *Consistorium Supremum,* with this difference —that the formal inauguration of the highest magistrates, including the Bishop, and of the ministers, takes place before

the Synod which meets every four years, while the Supreme Church Council meets once each year. The executive power is with the Representative Council, *Consistorium Representativum.* The church congregations are grouped together in administrative districts, with the District Assembly, and a Dean and Inspector Curator, the latter being a layman. The individual congregation has a minister and a curator. The Unitarian Church has had a Bishop as its head since the foundation and has enjoyed full autonomy from the beginning of its existence.

The Baptists represent a group who rightfully demand a place in the category of recognized churches in Rumania, a request which has been persistently refused. Unless a church is officially recognized in Rumania, it has the status of a mere association, subject to the laws and police regulations applying to societies and public meetings in general. There are in Rumania in the neighborhood of 20,000 Baptists, over eighty per cent of whom live in the recently acquired territories of Transylvania and Bessarabia. During the period of Hungarian rule in the former territory, Baptists enjoyed legal recognition under restrictions which were not altogether satisfactory but which were unquestionably superior to the conditions they enjoy to-day. Their treatment in Rumania is certainly not in the spirit of the treaty clauses which Rumania signed. The Baptists are in an especially strong position in seeking for recognition because on principle they refuse the privilege which ecclesiastical legislation gives to all recognized cults of imposing taxes on their members, and in case of need calling upon the officials and the state to enforce payment. They propose here as elsewhere to maintain their work by free-will offerings.

The Catholic Church in Rumania, numbering some 750,000, has suffered the same humiliations as the Protestant groups. The Orthodox Church has warmly opposed any *Concordat* because it is seeking a reconciliation with large Uniat groups and such a feat will be more easily accomplished without the presence of Catholic prelates or nuncios with a certain legal standing. Although there is a sprinkling of Germans in this Catholic *bloc,* the overwhelming majority are Magyars and as

such are especially objectionable to Rumanians as a constant source of Hungarian irredentism, as the priests are largely either pure Magyars or at least Magyar in sympathy. The Pope now has a nuncio at Bucharest whose chief function will be to negotiate a *Concordat* and a *modus vivendi* for the Catholic Church in Rumania.

Rumania became a Patriarchate of the Eastern Orthodox Church on October 30, 1925, when Mgr. Miron Cristea became the first Patriarch of the country. At a gorgeous spectacle attended by Mgr. Joachim, Metropolitan of Chalcedon, Mgr. Germanos, Metropolitan of Sardis, representing the ecumenical Patriarch, Mgr. Dositchous representing the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Mgr. Polycarp, representing the Church of Greece, Mgr. Dyonizy, Metropolitan of Poland and Archbishop of Warsaw, Mgr. Anthony, Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Neophit, representing the Exarchist Church of Bulgaria, ministers of state, court and cabinet officials, the diplomatic corps, and the Rumanian royal family. Cristea was made Patriarch in the Royal Throne Room. This event is important because of the estrangement dating from 1870 between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Bulgarian Exarchists, who were regarded as schismatic by the Phanar. It has not hitherto been customary for Patriarchs and Exarchists to meet together in ecclesiastical ceremonies. The formation of the Orthodox Church into a Patriarchate is another step in the realization of Rumanian ambitions.

The constitution of Rumania includes a definite acknowledgment of religious liberty as a right of all citizens, and this is reaffirmed in the church legislation. The unhappy condition of minority populations in Rumania has become notorious throughout Europe. It is even impossible to close the mouths of Rumanians on this point. A brilliant young Rumanian, Panait Istrati, writing recently in *Le Quotidien,* the Paris radical daily, remarked:

> Woe to the man who has a heart and who reads our Rumanian newspapers. Can he sleep quietly a single night with the cruel deeds now being done in doomed

> Bessarabia on his conscience? Worse crimes have never been committed in the history of the world. Even Abdul Hamid, the Red Sultan, would have shuddered at the sight of them. Yet they are being committed at the very door of the civilized West, and in times of peace. They are being committed by regular army-officers, with the authority of their government.
>
> Rumanian prisons ring with the cries of innocent people pleading for help. Their sufferings are a matter of common knowledge, but the whole press conceals the truth, and I have been persecuted and reviled because I dared to proclaim that truth. I must tell all civilized mankind of the sufferings of my harassed country.

Protestants in Rumania will face many trials in the decade immediately ahead. Only with the spiritual and financial support of other countries can they hope to maintain in strength their cultural and religious heritage.

Turkey

The Christian religion has never occupied a favorable position in Turkey since the Byzantine Empire fell beneath the blows of the Turks in 1453, but it never faced difficulties under Abdul Hamid, or the Committee of Union and Progress, comparable to the frustrating policies of the Nationalist government of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal. Formerly Christian communities were intermittently massacred but in the intervening periods they were comparatively free to teach and preach, while to-day religious instruction is barred, and many of the most promising stations and schools representing the accumulated good-will and experience of nearly a century are closed. Educators, doctors, and ministers who remain the best friends Turkey has ever possessed are valiantly attempting to build up a spiritual basis for the new nation amid the crass materialism of a régime which sees the material splendor of the West, but refuses the spiritual undergirding of either Islam or Christianity. The destruction of the Sultanate, the exile of

the Caliph, the order against wearing the fez and other measures, justified as they have been for political reasons, also reveal a deep-seated intolerance of all religion as such and a disregard of the spiritual side of the nation's life.

Although Mohammedanism is the official religion of Turkey the government is indifferent to all religious affairs, save to restrict Christianity. The pilgrimage to Mecca and the five daily prayers are no longer urged upon the people and the fast of Ramazan has ceased to be compulsory.

A constant and dramatic struggle is going forward between the Greek Ecumenical Patriarchate located at the Phanar, a section of Stamboul, and the Nationalist government who are determined to drive this symbol of Christianity and Greek culture without the frontiers of the New Ottoman state. The Patriarch is equally determined to remain as a dramatization of the imperishable traditions of the Eastern Church which had centered around Byzantium for nearly a millennium and a half before the Seljuk Turks converted St. Sophia into a Mohammedan mosque.

Robert College and the Constantinople College for Women are distinctly Christian Institutions which have educated much of the young leadership of Turkey and of the whole Balkan Peninsula, but they find themselves entirely restricted regarding the teaching of religion.

The American Board has its headquarters in Constantinople for all its stations in Turkey. In addition there is a large depot of the British and Foreign Bible Society, several French schools run by sisters and priests of Catholic religious orders, and a few German missionaries. The Christian population of Constantinople in which is concentrated the great majority of the population of Turkey in Europe is a mixture of Orthodox Greeks, Catholics of the Latin Rite, Armenians who have a Patriarchate in the city, Armenian Catholics, a few Chaldean and Syrian Catholics, a sprinkling of Syrian Jacobites and Melchites, Hebrews of two rites, Bulgarian Catholics, and Nestorians, with small communities of Anglican, German Lutheran, and other European denominations centering around the diplomatic, consular, missionary, and commercial groups.

Christians in Turkey are confronted with many difficulties in these days of poverty, misunderstanding, and deep-seated racial and religious antipathies, nor will they in the future receive that respect due to minority peoples unless the Grand National Assembly and its administrative officers curb the intransigeant and self-defeating policy which has characterized their rule in spite of many laudable efforts to improve the life of the Turkish people.

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Protestant Europe

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